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Unless the Nationalist authorities demonstrate to the satisfaction of the interested governments their intention to comply promptly with these terms, the said governments will find themselves compelled to take such measures as they consider appropriate.

THIS WAS THE CONCLUDING PARAGRAPH of the joint note sent by the Powers to Eugene Chen, Foreign Secretary of the Nationalist Government, on April 11. When Mr. Chen replied asking for a neutral inquiry into the happenings at Nanking all the foreign offices involved, except our own, intimated that the note was entirely unsatisfactory and all the bellicose foreigners, civilian or military, in Shanghai licked their chops in anticipation of an immediate cutting apart of China by a gunboat patrol of the Yangtze and the closing of the port of Shanghai. Fortunately, Mr. Coolidge, having heard from the country in no uncertain terms, declined to give his assent either to the use of force or even to another note. That knocked the bottom out of the coalition and led to the fiercest kind of denunciation of Mr. Coolidge and the United States at Shanghai, where the belief was openly expressed that good old John Bull would see it through by himself if need be. Alas, for these seekers after Chinese blood! When Mr. Chamberlain got up in Parliament on May 9 to explain his Government's decision he cooed as gently as any sucking dove, saying that his Government deemed it "inexpedient" to apply penalties just now for the Nanking outrage. It had, he said, every right to do so; justice was on England's side; it could take back the Hankow concession by force if it chose, for the troops and ships were there, but it seemed wisest not to do so. And anyhow, Mr. Chamberlain asserted, the Hankow (Cantonese) Government had so lost its power and prestige that it was nothing more than the shadow of a name. Finally, he admitted, the crimes against foreigners "had been punished with a severity and speed impossible from any other Power."

FOR ALL OF THIS WE GIVE our profoundest thanks. We do not care what face-saving devices Mr. Chamberlain has resorted to or will attempt to use. We do not believe that the Cantonese movement is spent, nor can we fail to smile at his assertion that the outrages in Nanking were the work of the Third International in Moscow. The point is that the Powers have abandoned the blood-and-iron policy which their identic note, by the severity of its tone and its threat, implied. Something has made the Powers come to their senses. If it was Mr. Coolidge whose refusal to go along stopped the plan for a nice little war in China, we salute him most warmly and extend our most cordial congratulations. Even if the other Powers might have come to the same decision, he deserves all credit for having disregarded the advice of our Minister, Mr. MacMurray, and our Admirals. The former, who should now be allowed to resign gracefully, not only joined the other Peking diplomats in drafting the note which was to have preceded the punishment of China, but forwarded it to Washington for adoption, if press reports are correct. Mr. Coolidge's next step should be to recall the marine regiments and reduce the fleet. The Americans who now remain in the dangerous districts know that they do so at their own risk. Let us follow up this good work by getting out of China and ceasing to intervene in her unhappy domestic concerns.

THE NICARAGUA CRISIS seems to have been ended by the mission of Colonel Henry L. Stimson, but by a most dangerous means. Even Mr. Kellogg admits that the personal representative of Calvin Coolidge—he holds no government office or commission—warned the Liberals that our policy of "safeguarding" American property would be changed into one of deliberate military attack if the Liberals did not at once lay down their arms. In return the Conservatives have been induced to agree to the following acts of conciliation: Their forces are to be disarmed, as well as those of the Liberals; amnesty is to be granted all around; the Liberals will participate in the present Government which will hold office until the regular elections of 1928, when the United States will supervise the elections and recognize the winner, whoever he may be. Meanwhile, however, the United States marines will continue to police the country and prevent a further outbreak, besides standing guard over the ballot boxes more than a year hence.

AS WE GO TO PRESS, the period granted to the Liberals for the acceptance of these terms has not expired. General Moncada seems ready to yield, but Sacasa is rightly outraged by the Stimson proposal. Nonetheless we trust he will accept. Any further bloodshed could only

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have the most disastrous consequences for all concerned. But even Mr. Coolidge will not now be able to deny that this is intervention in the domestic affairs of Nicaragua of the most thoroughgoing kind. Well, for the moment at least, it seems to terminate an adventure which has done incalculable injury to the reputation of the United States throughout South America because of the blundering and the deliberate misrepresentations of the Coolidge Administration. It got itself and the United States into a dreadful hole and knew no way to extricate itself until it sent this unofficial plenipotentiary down to rattle the saber and threaten both sides. This may bring peace to Nicaragua, but we deny that it adds to America's reputation, or that it reflects the slightest credit upon the Coolidge Government. We are certain that the effect it will have upon all Latin America can be nothing else than bad. Indeed, our intervention made the struggle far longer than it would otherwise have been, kept in power a puppet President who obviously would have been driven from office but for us—if it has not added to the number of lives lost. This is called statesmanship and convincing evidence of our love for our Central and South American neighbors. And on top of this "peace" move comes the news that we are rushing 800 more marines to Nicaragua!

SWIFT AND PROPER retaliation for the cowardly and boorish refusal of President Coolidge and Secretary Kellogg to permit Madame Kollontay, the Soviet Ambassador to Mexico, to pass through United States territory has been made by the Soviet Government. It has refused permission to Rear-Admiral Mark L. Bristol to traverse Russian territory in traveling from Constantinople to China, where he is to take command of our Asiatic fleet. He must, therefore, catch a steamer in the Mediterranean. Since, however, Mrs. Bristol is an invalid, and could not stand the extra travel the Admiral must endure, the gentlemen in charge of the Soviet Foreign Office have very courteously permitted her to go direct to Peking across their country. What an extraordinary difference it would make in our relations with all the world if we could get some gentlemen into our State Department who were not routinized out of good manners, common sense, and decent human emotions!

THE SPECTACLE of a few thousand human beings throwing up poor human fortifications against the crest of the flood that is thundering down from Natchez is at once gallant and pitiful. Red River Landing is the center of activities as we go to press. There, where the powerful Red River flows into the Mississippi, is a key triangle from which—if the levee holds—the Mississippi will continue southeast on its way to New Orleans, already partially protected by the dynamited Poydras levee, and if the levee breaks—as it seems distressingly likely to do—two million acres in the south central portion of the State will be under water and 160,000 additional persons rendered homeless. Red River Landing: it is not hard to picture the feverish activities that are going on there, the sandbags, the stone fortifications, the earthworks, and, in addition to these, the grim preparations of the Red Cross—boats to ferry refugees, tents, bedding, supplies, as if confidence in the strength of the levee were faint indeed. This has been the worst flood that history records. Perhaps it will be bad enough to teach the lesson that Walter Parker made clear in last week's *Nation:* Levees are not enough. They never can be enough. The more the river is confined the higher it will rise. It is significant that for the dynamited levee at Poydras the city of New Orleans will be forced to compensate residents of the inundated region to the extent of $15,000,000; yet when, four years ago, New Orleans asked permission to make an outlet at Poydras at a cost to the city of $5,000,000, the federal authorities refused permission. A gigantic relief program demanding millions of dollars for some half million homeless persons must be attended to first. When the waters recede there will be land to plow again, houses to build, crops to resow, and all the details to attend to that mean subsistence for so many thousands. Then it will be time to think seriously of the future.

PARIS TODAY—NEW YORK TOMORROW: that was the ambitious plan of the French fliers, Coli and Nungesser, as they took the air for their conquest of the Atlantic last Sunday. But the Atlantic is a jealous ocean and does not yield lightly to ambitious plans. We do not yet know what has become of the two men; we may never know. The solitary white bird that took flight so bravely may have come down with a broken wing, may have been unable to buffet wind and rain or to see its way through clinging fog; all around it miles of ocean lay waiting to defeat its passage, miles of eager waves that prey so gladly upon brave birds. The plane, we are told, carried no wireless and discarded its landing gear as soon as it flew above the ocean. It is constructed of water-tight wood and can float about twenty-four hours before becoming waterlogged. Forty hours of flying will have used up its supply of gasoline. Thus the margin of safety is already passed, but miracles do happen, and a miracle is what millions of persons at this moment of writing are hoping for. In Paris crowds saw the fliers off at dawn; in New York the Battery was black with people watching all day Monday. Wherever they are now, whether the White Bird is flying or floating or sunk beyond the reach of rescuers, the thoughts and the anxious regard of millions accompany it. There is something heart-warming about this sort of daring; it is not quite necessary—yet sometimes on it depends the progress of the race.

NEWS POURS IN EVERY WEEK of brutal oppression in Central European and Balkan dictatorships. Mass arrests, prison tortures, and inhuman sentences are still the order of the day. "Disappearance without trace" after arrest is a common fate, not only of workers but of leading political opponents of the Government and well-known professional men. Since the Tirana treaty between Italy and Albania last November, which intrenched Achmed Zoghu more firmly in power, persecution in Albania has been more ferocious than before. The dictator of this impoverished little country, who appropriated for the expenses of his "court" one-eleventh of the budget, has sold out the resources of the nation to Italian capital and is devoting his energies to getting rid of those who oppose him. Death sentences have been passed on intellectuals, editors, and deputies. Fan Noli, democratic Premier from whom Zoghu seized power, has been sentenced to death. Don Gazulli, a priest, was hanged because he criticized the government for allowing old men, women, and children to die of cold and hunger in the prisons. Similar tales can be told of Bulgaria and other countries. Last month the protests of intellectuals and of workers' organizations throughout the world succeeded in obtaining a transfer of the trial of thirty Hungarian labor leaders from the military court, where an un-

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favorable verdict would have meant hanging, to the civil court. Such conditions exist only as long as they are tolerated by world opinion.

A CLEAR-CUT INSTANCE of radio censorship was given by Station WGL on May 2. At a dinner of the All Nations Association in honor of Mrs. Mille Gade Corson, who is about to leave for England to attempt to swim the Channel again, Mrs. Mary H. Ford made an address in the course of which she began to congratulate Mrs. Corson upon coming from a country, Denmark, which was pacifist during the war and is leaning toward the abolition of all military force. She had hardly touched upon the subject when she was deliberately cut off. The station manager, a Mr. Isaacson, gave the usual declaration of his belief in free speech but said that "there are certain things which are dictated by good taste. This was not the time nor the occasion for such a speech." But what right has a station manager to assume that his judgment as to what is fitting is superior to that of Mrs. Ford or any other speaker? We admit that there are difficulties in the situation and that the broadcasting stations will be at times the victims of abuse or misrepresentation or bad taste. But there can be no stopping the fight for free speech over the radio until it is won. It would never have occurred to Mr. Isaacson to censor a speaker demanding more armaments and virtual war in China, Mexico, or Nicaragua. He must be taught that no excuse can be accepted for cutting off a speaker except the one that that speaker breaks the laws of the United States.

AMERICAN CITIZENSHIP FOR HINDUS was the subject discussed at a dinner given for Senator Copeland recently for his sponsorship of the Hindu Citizenship Bill. Senator Copeland declared himself in favor of a change in the immigration law, basing restrictions not on national or geographical quotas or on color but on the physical, mental, and moral qualifications of the immigrant. Hindus at present are refused citizenship in the United States because they are not white, although they claim membership in the Caucasian race. The retroactive feature of the law is its worst aspect; naturalized Hindus who have believed themselves to be citizens and who have been so considered for more than ten years, in some cases, are now deprived of citizenship rights. Senator Copeland, in his fight for this bill, deserves the thanks of every American citizen. Whether or not the Hindu is a Caucasian is beside the point; he has proved to be a good citizen; there is no likelihood whatever that a rush of Hindus will come clamoring at our doors for admittance—if they did, our quota restrictions would take care of any such emergency. Those who do come—students, scholars, men and women of education or in earnest search of education—should not be forced to maintain the status of aliens all their lives. Above all, this Government, which charges Mexico with breaking its word to American citizens domiciled there, should be the last to break its faith and word with men honestly admitted to citizenship years ago.

"YOUNG PEOPLE are without indecency. It is only when their elders slather into a furore over indecency that they are made indecent." John Erskine, author of "Helen" and "Galahad," said this publicly the other day in the course of a protest against the action of the customs authorities in holding up shipments of unexpurgated editions of "The Arabian Nights" and the "Decameron." If more persons as eminent as Mr. Erskine would talk like this —pointing to the simple truth that indecency is rarely in a book or a thing, but in a mind—something might be accomplished against irresponsible censorship. But not many do. Other professors, for instance, asked to comment on the violence done "The Arabian Nights" and the "Decameron," merely deposed that these are venerable books and therefore ought to circulate. The question, which Mr. Erskine answered emphatically, is whether *any* book shall be suppressed which is not clearly within the statute governing obscenity. He might have added that there is an amazing inconsistency in the minds of newspaper editors who clamor for certain plays to be extinguished or books to be suppressed and then fill three pages daily with verbatim reports of testimony in the latest nauseating murder trial.

EDWIN ARLINGTON ROBINSON'S eminence among contemporary American poets has been recognized in various ways since the occasion of his fiftieth birthday eight years ago, when a page of tributes in the New York *Times* revealed the high opinion of him which his fellow-poets entertained. He has twice received the Pulitzer prize, and his "Collected Poems" has become a standard work both here and in England. But the public reading of his new poem, "Tristram," on the eve of its issue by the Macmillan Company and the Literary Guild of America, was a tribute of a special kind, and one which makes literary history. Mrs. August Belmont (Eleanor Robson) read the second half of the poem to an audience which overflowed the Little Theater in New York, and the reception was one which proved not only that Mr. Robinson has a devoted following but that good poetry has a public importance. We do not know of any other major American poem which has been thus honored. Mr. Robinson, who insisted beforehand that the occasion be called a "reading" and not a "tribute," did not appear until it was all over—when the welcome given him, he preferred to say, was inspired by this latest work rather than by the whole of his long and admirable career.

TO THE GROWING LIST of former college presidents who have recently died must now be added the name of Benjamin Ide Wheeler, for twenty years, until his retirement in 1919, president of the University of California. A gentle, scholarly personality, of broad range and vision, he valued freedom of opinion in his own case as well as in that of his faculty. Thus he warmly supported Theodore Roosevelt for the Presidency in 1912 despite wide criticism, and his tolerance of dissenting opinion and refusal to hate and be bitter when the United States entered the World War in 1917 gave great offense to the hundred-percenters of the day. Indeed, the charge that he was too friendly to the Germans was then raised against him. Had he not received an honorary degree from Heidelberg and been Roosevelt exchange professor for a year at Berlin? Under him the University of California grew from 2,391 students to nearly 20,000, while its plant was correspondingly enlarged and its teaching force grew both in numbers and in high scholarly standing. Rightly did the university announce with the news of his death that Dr. Wheeler more than anyone else was responsible for its present fine position in the field of American university education. Rarely, we believe, has a college president been held in warmer personal regard by faculty and students.

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Judge Thayer Revealed

EVER since the conviction of Sacco and Vanzetti in Dedham, Massachusetts, six years ago, there have been disturbing stories in circulation in regard to the biased and improper conduct of Judge Webster Thayer, who presided at the trial. Most of these stories were told privately by reporters of Boston newspapers in attendance at the trial—men who had no use for the defendants or their beliefs but were amazed, and in some cases disgusted, by the judge's animus. A little of this judicial partisanship is to be found in the record of the case, but for the most part it consisted in words and acts of the trial judge when not on the bench. The Sacco-Vanzetti defense has been well aware of this conduct, but has not dared to stress it because under the curious judicial procedure of Massachusetts Judge Thayer is practically the court of appeals which reviews his own acts, and the counsel for the defense did not wish further to excite his hostility while praying to him for a new trial.

Now that the case is finally out of Judge Thayer's hands, six affidavits have been obtained, any one of which should be sufficient to establish his unfairness. Taken together they blast completely his reputation as a judge and a man; they shrivel him into a contemptible mixture of vanity and vulgarity who was not only guilty of grossly unjudicial conduct but who seized what was probably his first widely reported trial to curry public favor by pandering to the worst mob instincts then prevalent.

The affidavits are contained in a statement submitted to Governor Fuller of Massachusetts in behalf of Vanzetti. Sacco did not sign the statement. Depressed and broken in spirit by seven years of prison and unsuccessful appeal, Sacco seems to want to die; he almost courts martyrdom and absolutely refuses to ask for mercy. Vanzetti is equally set against any plea for mercy but still demands justice. Vanzetti, in his own part of the statement, brings out some damaging evidence against Judge Thayer:

> The District Attorney used as an Italian interpreter a man named Ross, who is now serving a sentence in the House of Correction for having attempted to sell to ignorant people his supposed influence with judges. You will find that our lawyer several times objected to Ross's translations of our cross-examination, and at one time had to get another Italian interpreter to protect us.
>
> Ross, who was in close relation with the District Attorney, took Judge Thayer to and from Dedham in his automobile almost every day during the trial. What he said to Judge Thayer we do not know; but as the affidavits show beyond a doubt that Judge Thayer was in the habit of talking about us and our case outside of court, and of allowing other people to talk to him about it, and as Ross was evidently doing what he could to help the District Attorney, you will excuse us for having great fears as to what he said to Judge Thayer on those automobile rides.

George U. Crocker, a distinguished lawyer and citizen of Boston and a fellow-member of Judge Thayer's in the University Club there, states that the jurist repeatedly discussed the case with him in the course of the trial. Of one occasion Mr. Crocker says:

> On this morning he either came to the table where I was sitting and asked if he could have breakfast with me or he called me to his table and asked me to have breakfast with him. He immediately began to talk again about the case, and pulled out of his pocket a portion of the charge which he was to deliver, as I understood it, on that day. He read parts of it to me with comments like this: "Counsel for defense said so and so yesterday, and this is my reply." He then read a part of the charge and said: "I think that that will hold him, don't you?"
>
> I do not remember how many times Judge Thayer talked to me about the case during the trial, but it was, I think, three or four times, and each time showing what appeared to me clearly to be bias against the defendants.

Lois B. Rantoul, who attended the trial as a representative of the Greater Boston Federation of Churches, cites two occasions when Judge Thayer talked with her. One was just after George Kelley, Sacco's employer, had testified in his behalf. Judge Thayer asked Mrs. Rantoul what she thought of the testimony. She said she thought it important. Then, says the affidavit:

> I well remember Judge Thayer's reply and the manner in which he gave it. He expressed scorn and contempt for my view, and told me that Kelley did not mean what he said because he (Judge Thayer) had heard that on the outside Kelley had said that Sacco was an anarchist and that he couldn't do anything with him. I told Judge Thayer that I had never before realized that it was fair to judge a case by what the witnesses said outside of court, and that I had supposed that the only proper way to judge a case was by what the witnesses said in open court. Judge Thayer's manner and expression of face expressed dissent from this view, but he made no definite statement of dissent.

In Boston Frank P. Sibley of the *Globe* is not only a reporter; he is an institution. For more than a score of years he has reported leading news events, and his reliability, intelligence, and independence are unchallenged. He describes how Judge Thayer gossiped with reporters:

> During the early stages of the trial when the talesmen were being examined and during one of the walks from the Dedham Inn to the Court House Judge Thayer proceeded to discuss Attorney Moore, one of the lawyers representing the defendant, Sacco. This subject seemed to excite him considerably and, among other remarks, he exclaimed: "I'll show them that no long-haired anarchist from California can run this court!" During the progress of the trial he frequently referred to the counsel for the defense as "those damn fools." On several occasions he said: "Just wait until you hear my charge."

John Nicholas Beffel, correspondent of the Federated Press, also tells of Judge Thayer's talks with the newspaper reporters. In one instance: "As he turned to leave the room he shook his fist and said to the other newspaper men: 'You wait till I give my charge to the jury. I'll show 'em!'"

The correspondent at the trial of the International News Service, Elizabeth R. Bernkopf, declares that Judge Thayer generally referred to Fred Moore of the counsel for the defense as "that long-haired anarchist."

Robert Benchley, dramatic editor of *Life*, tells of visiting his friend Loring Coes of Worcester (Judge Thayer's home) during the trial. Mr. Coes came out of the Worcester Golf Club and reported what Judge Thayer had just been saying inside:

> Mr. Coes told us that Judge Thayer, whom he referred to as "Web," had just been telling what he (Judge Thayer) intended to do to Sacco and Vanzetti, whom Judge Thayer

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referred to as "those bastards down there." Mr. Coes said that Judge Thayer had referred to Sacco and Vanzetti as Bolsheviki who were "trying to intimidate him," and had said that "he would get them good and proper."

Mr. Coes said that Judge Thayer had told him and the other men that a "bunch of parlor radicals were trying to get these guys off and trying to bring pressure to bear on the bench," and that he "would show them and would get those guys hanged," and that he (Judge Thayer) "would also like to hang a few dozen radicals."

Mr. Coes has since denied making such a statement, but the denial is not convincing in view of his previous deliberate refusal to try to recall what happened.

The six affidavits in the hands of Governor Fuller strip Judge Thayer naked of decency and justice. They ought to force his immediate resignation or lead to his speedy impeachment. A comparison between Webster Thayer and Pontius Pilate is all in the latter's favor.

Art and the Municipality

HENRY RUTGERS MARSHALL, who died in New York on May 2, was an unusual type of public servant. An architect of high standing, a distinguished critic, a university lecturer, an author of six important works on aesthetic and philosophical subjects, he spent the last eight years of his life as secretary of the Municipal Art Commission of the City of New York. An humble job? By no means. An inconspicuous one? Yes, if one measures the importance of an office by the publicity a man achieves. But if it be gauged by the service rendered to the community, it is one of the most useful, one of the most essential. Here was a man who could have taken his *otium cum dignitate* years ago; who could have lived in a rare country home filled with heirlooms of Revolutionary days that many would give a fortune to possess. Instead, he devoted himself to the difficult and often trying labor of passing upon all the architectural and communal undertakings that came before the Art Commission of the metropolis for approval.

There under the tower of New York's beautiful City Hall he sat, passing upon the plans submitted for public buildings of every type, for water-works, for bridges, for police and fire stations, for every sort of construction for which public money is expended. He it was who weeded out the good from the bad before referring matters to the commission of which he was the executive. During these eight years, therefore, the seal of his approval was stamped upon all the construction of our greatest city. He himself largely created the standards to which municipal building is now held. More than that, he accumulated plans and designs until, as the daily press has pointed out, his office became a veritable museum of public architecture which has only to be kept up to be of increasing value. To his task he brought so agreeable, so honest, and yet so tactful a personality that the president of the Art Commission, Mr. Robert W. De Forest, has been compelled to say that while "the office will be filled by some successor, no one can be found qualified to take the place which Mr. Marshall made for himself"; that "it is rarely that any man of talent finds a position for which he is peculiarly fitted, and it is still more rare that such a position finds such a man."

The services to the city of Mr. De Forest and Mr. Marshall and others since the founding of the Art Commission are invaluable, whether one agrees with all their rulings or not. Its existence guarantees that not only architectural but also sculptural monstrosities will die aborning and not be permitted to disfigure streets or parks. If in the last thirty-five years New York has grown from an ugly and stereotyped city, distinguished only by Washington Square and a few other oases, into one of often extraordinary beauty, the credit is not all due to the invention of the skyscraper, or to Beaux Arts teachings, or to the architects who are working out the complex problems of modern municipal life with their new materials used in huge dimensions. Some credit must be given to the standards set by the city itself and some to the new ordinances which compelled the "stepping back" of the gigantic structures and gave rise to the amazing towers which are creating in New York a majesty and a romance of building never seen before.

Yet the cry once was that if the municipalities undertook to interfere in construction, art and architecture would be pinioned and bound and be at the mercy of mere bureaucrats. They have been freed, instead, and will surely continue to be well guided and supervised as long as men of the breadth of view, the tolerance, the vision, and the professional skill of a Henry Rutgers Marshall can be enlisted in the public service. We go still further. We venture to prophesy that the time will yet come when all communities, urban or suburban, will take it upon themselves to regulate the erection of private and business dwellings not merely from the angle of sanitation and public safety, but from that of fitness to their surroundings and beauty as well. It is done abroad and it will yet be done here.

"The Greatest Secretary Since Hamilton"

SOMEBODY once said in Wall Street that Andrew Mellon was "the greatest Secretary of the Treasury since Hamilton"—and everybody in that charmed financial district has called him that ever since. Why not? He is one of the five or six richest men in America—and wealth worships wealth. He has done everything that Wall Street could possibly have asked him to do. Next, we in America live and prosper on catchwords and slogans, without which we should perish, for we might be compelled to do a little thinking on our own, and that would be fatal. So everybody in the moneyed world chimes in and forgets men like Salmon P. Chase and that extraordinarily brilliant Secretary, Albert Gallatin.

The truth is that Andrew Mellon is not a great man, but the most timid and shrinking figure in Washington, who is establishing a record beyond any Secretary "since Hamilton"—for his blundering and his wild guesses as to our annual income. As to that, he has never come within $100,000,000 of guessing correctly and he has at times (as in 1923) been as much as $1,132,000,000 out of the way. In his correspondence with Senator Couzens, Mr. Mellon, or rather those subordinates who write his letters and his rare speeches for him, erred so egregiously that Congress passed a resolution for a real overhauling of his Internal Revenue Bureau. But he, or his assistants, show off best their gifts for making mistakes when they deal with the question of foreign debts. His last incursion into this field has not only brought a serious official protest from the British Government but has convicted him of at least one absolutely erroneous statement.

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That, the greatest Secretary declares, was due entirely to a stenographer's error, which, it is stated, anybody who read should have perceived and understood—except apparently the Secretary of the Treasury who signed it and his assistants who wrote it. But this is not the only blunder in his letter in reply to President Hibben and the Princeton professors of which the Secretary stands convicted by the British Chancellor of the Exchequer. Mr. Mellon's writers declared for him that the British Government profited greatly by purchasing supplies here and reselling them to the American forces abroad. Mr. Churchill, who has right along opposed this contention, is able to cite Mr. Albert Rathbone, a former Assistant Secretary of the Treasury, who proved the British case in an article in the American *Foreign Affairs* for April, 1925, by pointing out that the Allies did not obtain a double bargain at our expense but that the American cash purchases abroad were distinctly to the advantage of the United States, for the dollars thus obtained were spent here by the Allies for our goods. A letter of Mr. R. C. Leffingwell, also a former Assistant Secretary of the Treasury, of December 3, 1917, is further cited by the British Government as proof of its contention. In this connection it is interesting to note that the entire British press, with one exception, is satisfied that their Government has proved its case to the hilt. Among those outspoken in their approval of the Churchill case is the Liberal *Manchester Guardian*, the most independent of the British dailies, long an outspoken friend of the United States, to whom Churchill is usually anathema.

So the "greatest Secretary of the Treasury since Hamilton" has not only brought down upon himself and the Coolidge Administration this severe rebuke but has compelled Secretary Kellogg to another exhibition of rudeness in this curt reply to the British note: "The Government of the United States regards the correspondence between Mr. Mellon and Mr. Hibben as a purely domestic discussion, and does not desire to engage in any formal diplomatic exchanges upon the subject." Naturally this is accepted in London as a mere avoidance of the necessity of a reply in defense of a bad case. Certainly, when it is considered that this is the second time Mr. Churchill has had to charge Mr. Mellon with false statements—last July he went fully into other statements of Mr. Mellon; when it is remembered that if his statements to Mr. Hibben were to go unchallenged, it would seriously affect the position of Great Britain with her Ally creditors, we cannot see why this Mellon correspondence was not a proper subject for a British governmental remonstrance. Mr. Mellon cannot assert that it was plain Andy Mellon, the Pittsburgh multi-millionaire, who wrote to the Princeton professors. He wrote as the Secretary of the Treasury, not on a purely domestic issue, but on one of the gravest international issues which confront the American people.

So the greatest Secretary since Hamilton gets us into one mess after another because of the general unreliability of the gentlemen who write his letters for him. On May 20 last he assured the American people that the value of the proposed French payments was $2,734,000,000, of the Belgian $302,000,000, and of the Italian $782,000,000. Less than two months later he gave out these figures as being for the French $1,681,000,000, for the Belgian $192,000,000, for the Italian $426,000,000—over a billion and a half dollars had slipped through his fingers in seven weeks! In any other country he would be regarded as a joke.

The Neighborhood Playhouse

THE evening of May seventeenth will be the last first night at the Neighborhood Playhouse. The swan song will be a gay one, for the production is the fourth annual edition of "The Grand Street Follies," but the occasion must, nevertheless, have its melancholy aspects and it is worth while to recall the history of this, one of the most remarkable institutions in the recorded annals of the American theater.

The Misses Alice and Irene Lewisohn inherited from their father not only great wealth but an interest in social welfare which was more than merely a perfunctory expression of that uneasiness which so commonly affects the conspicuously rich. It occurred to them that such an institution as the Henry Street Settlement might minister to the artistic as well as the physical needs of the community which it served, and for a number of years "festival groups" at the Settlement gave amateur entertainments of strictly local interest. By 1915 these productions had reached a point which seemed to justify a permanent playhouse. The little theater on Grand Street was opened and, among other things, presented during its first season the first of the little plays to introduce to New York the dramatic fantasies of Lord Dunsany. A production of Galsworthy's "The Mob" in 1920 marked a definite stage in the history of the organization's conquest of a larger public, and then, after a year spent in reorganization, the company reappeared in a semi-professional guise, still maintaining a school and still depending, to a considerable extent, upon the talent which it was developing, but calling to its aid also more experienced players. Since then it has developed steadily until it has become, in spite of its remoteness from the center of the city, one of the most important institutions in the theatrical capital.

Though it has never made any pretense of calling itself a national or civic theater, it has, nevertheless, come nearer to being that than have any of the other more ambitiously named enterprises. No other was actually so firmly rooted in a community and no other showed so great a capacity for steady and healthy growth. Its greatest achievements—"The Little Clay Cart" and "The Dybbuk"—were not only beautiful productions of beautiful plays but projects of a sort which no other producing organization was either willing to undertake or capable of accomplishing so admirably and with such art.

If the Neighborhood Playhouse has not been financially self-supporting this has been, in a large measure, due to the fact that it has outgrown its quarters. In a large and centrally located playhouse its successes would undoubtedly have gone far toward wiping out the deficits accumulated by less popular productions; but no large profits were possible under any conditions in its tiny house. Under the circumstances it is not strange that the Misses Lewisohn have decided to pause and consider. The institution which they founded and nourished has grown until it demands a reorganization. Just what form that reorganization will take is as yet undetermined, but that the spirit of the Neighborhood Playhouse should never be reembodied is not to be thought of. We hope before long to record its reincarnation at the hands of its noble-spirited creators. If they should not be able to resurrect it, we are sure that there are many who will be eager to aid.

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China's Revolution: History and Prophecy

By THOMAS F. MILLARD

Shanghai, April 8

ALREADY it has become customary to date the present phase of the Chinese Revolution from May 30, 1925. On that day (the occasion being a straggling procession, usually termed a "demonstration," composed of some two or three hundred Chinese students) disorders occurred in Nanking Road, Shanghai, that culminated in the police of the International Settlement firing into the crowd and killing and wounding a number of people, all of them Chinese.

For about one month after that incident Chinese shops and banks in this Settlement remained closed as a protest. Chinese laborers quit work, almost completely tying up the port and compelling all important industries to suspend. Chinese employees of essential municipal services—water, light, posts, telephone, tramcars—went on strike and those functions for a while were carried on by foreign volunteers. In some foreign clubs members had to act as bartenders and waiters. Many domestic servants left their employment and foreigners had to shift for themselves.

Repercussions of the incident were felt in all parts of China in the form of demonstrations, strikes, and boycotts. Evidences of a genuine national feeling were unmistakable. It was some months before the explosive manifestations quieted; indeed, they never ceased altogether. It is significant that demonstrations of Chinese for some time after the Nanking Road incident almost invariably were directed against the British, who were held responsible for what happened then and for the immediate aftermath.

Chinese local reactions to the incident of May 30 sizzled down to demands for modifications of the status and administration of this International Settlement. One demand was for rendition of the Mixed Court (taken into foreign quasi control during the revolutionary upheaval of 1911 and held ever since) which meant that China's jurisdiction over Chinese living in the Settlement would be restored. Another demand was for Chinese representation on the Municipal Council of the Settlement.

About 800,000 Chinese live inside the International Settlement at Shanghai. Another 250,000, or thereabouts, live in the adjoining French Concession. (The French Concession has a different status. There are Chinese members of its Council, and it escaped almost entirely the disagreeable consequences of that occasion.) Another million or so live in adjoining Chinese towns, composing the port. Chinese realty and other investments here are estimated from 80 to 90 per cent of the total and Chinese pay that proportion of taxes. Chinese are about 96 per cent of the population of the Settlement.

None of the demands of the Chinese was conceded at the time. A state of emergency (local euphemism for a condition tantamount to martial law) continued for more than two months. Questions of changes in the Settlement's administration were referred to the foreign Diplomatic Body at Peking, where they still rest. Concessions to Chinese indignation were implied promises to give them representation on the Council, to return the Mixed Court, and resignations of the superintendent of police of the Settlement, and of the police inspector who ordered the firing on May 30. Both received liberal retirement bonuses.

At the urgence of the Municipal Council of the Settlement a "judicial inquiry" was made into the causes and consequences of the incident. The inquiry was conducted by a commission composed of one American, one British, and one Japanese judge, none connected with Shanghai. Chinese would not participate as members of the commission or give evidence before it. Lawyers of the Council tried to confine the inquiry to immediate and proximate causes, a desire in which the British and Japanese commissioners were disposed to acquiesce. But the American commissioner (Justice Finley Johnson of the Philippines Supreme Court) gave a wider interpretation of the instructions and went into, and reported on, the "causes of many years' standing." Justice Johnson's findings brought out officially what already was obvious, that the incident of May 30 was not the beginning of, but was an exclamation point of this modern phase of anti-foreignism in China.

That incident at once had an effect on relations of the treaty Powers with China. It startled the signatories of the Washington Agreements of 1922 into doing something about putting them into effect. For one reason and another more than three years had passed without action; the stock diplomatic explanation was that the carrying out of the Washington Agreements was held back by lack of a stable government in China. That amounted to saying that treaty revision or modification must await completion of the revolution, which might take twenty years or longer.

Item: In November, 1925, a conference under terms of the Washington Agreements to revise China's maritime customs status commenced sitting at Peking. After months of fruitless argument the Peking Government of that time dissolved, leaving the foreign delegates without negotiators on the Chinese side. They waited for a while and adjourned without definite action. That fiasco enabled foreign standpatters in China to say: "I told you so! You see the futility of trying to do anything about treaty revision while China has no stable government"

Item: Early in 1926 a foreign commission to study the question of extraterritoriality in China made investigations and afterward reported unfavorably to a change of that status now. Chinese Nationalists therefore could say: "You see! The Powers have no intention of keeping their promises and meeting our wishes for treaty revision. They always find excuses for delay. We must follow the example of Turkey and force revision. Or better still, we should abolish the old treaties forthwith."

The diplomatic impasse about treaty revision stimulated manifestations of extreme Chinese Nationalism and drove it steadily along an anti-foreign course. The Powers became uneasy and began to grope for a method of satisfying Chinese aspirations without waiting for a "stable" and unified national government to deal with. Hardly a week went by without some unpleasant clash between Chinese and foreigners.

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It is worth noting that from the shooting on May 30 until the incident at Nanking ten days ago (with the exception of a fight between armed British and Chinese forces at Wanhsien last autumn) only two foreigners were killed in China and in neither case was a political motive involved. Not until early in 1927 did a widespread desire to attack foreigners appear. Its development can be traced.

It properly would have been the function of the American Government, as protagonist of the Washington Agreements, to initiate action to end the impasse and to arrest ominous tendencies. But Great Britain acted.

Coincident with arrival in November, 1926, of a new British Minister in China, Sir Miles Lampson, the British Government made it known that thereafter it would negotiate treaty readjustments with regional governments in China about matters in their jurisdiction. Thus was the "wait for a stable government" policy cast overboard by the Western nation having the larger trade and vested interests here.

The British Government lost no time in acting on the new policy. Sir Miles Lampson went to Hankow and conferred there with officials of the Cantonese, or Kuomintang, regime which, after it established itself in Middle China, assumed the name of National Government and made its capital at Wuchang. It soon appeared, however, that that amicable gesture was too late to tranquilize the situation. Hardly had Sir Miles Lampson gone on to Peking than events occurred at Hankow which resulted in the Chinese taking control of the British Concession there; this was followed at once by a similar occurrence at Kiukiang. Even those events did not prevent the British Government from going forward with the new policy. Negotiations were undertaken which resulted in agreements amounting to relinquishment of the British concessions at Hankow and Kiukiang to Chinese authority, with a limited British participation.

Soon after the quasi-violence whereby the Chinese obtained control of British concessions at Hankow and Kiukiang, the British Government ordered the dispatch of a division of troops and additional naval forces to Shanghai. Chinese Nationalists construed that as a threat and for a time it seemed as if negotiations at Hankow would be broken off. They did proceed, but from then it was evident that a new and very disturbing factor had been injected. Some effects of that action on Chinese mass psychosis could be foretold at once. The day it was known in Shanghai that the troops were ordered here I telegraphed to the New York *Times* that the action would cause deep resentment among Chinese, and if the Powers intended or contemplated forcible action to sustain the treaty *status quo* they should first allow time to evacuate foreigners from the interior and to concentrate them at points where it is possible to protect them. It was evident that measures for the defense of the foreign settlements at Shanghai might react strongly against the security of foreigners in other places.

We have already witnessed some results and there may be other tragedies to report before foreigners are completely withdrawn from the interior. But there never will be agreement as to cause and effect of these events. A majority of foreigners at Shanghai point to what has happened elsewhere and say: "That or worse would have happened here if the troops and additional naval forces had not been sent." Others, including many refugees from exposed places, say: "Was it really necessary to bring troops to protect Shanghai? Would not the forces usually available have been sufficient now, as they were on previous occasions? Except for this demonstration of force at Shanghai we might have remained unmolested at our stations."

Consider Shanghai in detachment from the remainder of China. The importance of this place is indisputable. It is China's greatest seaport. It is by way of becoming for the time being, and perhaps indefinitely, a port entirely under foreign military control. Shanghai may determine, even may decide, policies of the United States, Great Britain, and Japan; whether there will be peace or war in Asia; whether the political and diplomatic hegemony of Europe, lost during the World War, will be revived to dominate, possibly, the Pacific Ocean Era.

After the events of May 30, 1925, the municipal authorities of the International Settlement were advised by the Diplomatic Body at Peking to make concessions calculated to placate local Chinese sentiment. Our city fathers were averse to that, but belief that the home governments would not support them in a standpat position caused the adoption of a conciliatory attitude.

At the annual rate-payers' meeting of 1926 a resolution was adopted inviting Chinese residing in the Settlement to elect three members of the Council. The Council is composed of nine foreign members, and by that resolution th membership would be in proportion of three foreigners one Chinese. As the responsible Chinese bodies were on record as insisting on equal representation, the passing of that resolution was an empty gesture. The Chinese ignored the offer and took no steps to elect three members. So the Council stands composed of five British, two Americans, and two Japanese. One Japanese was added lately to replace a Britisher, an obvious concession to international politics. One thing the Chinese wanted was done. An agreement for rendition of the Mixed Court was negotiated at Peking and went into effect January 1, 1927. But by that time the Chinese were not satisfied with halfway measures. An anti-foreign disposition on the part of the Chinese judges of the new Provincial Court became evident at once.

After the agreements for rendition of British concessions at Hankow and Kiukiang were signed, the Chinese at Shanghai nominated a committee to negotiate with the Municipal Council for participation in administration of the Settlement; but by then troops had been ordered here and the Council felt safe in ignoring that overture. There was no election for councilors this year. It was privately arranged that only nine gentlemen could be nominated and therefore they were declared elected without balloting. The annual rate-payers' meeting for 1927 will be held this month and in the resolutions that are proposed (of which advance notice must be given) there is no mention of Chinese representation on the Council. The only concession to Chinese is a resolution to admit them to public parks in the Settlement.

With the announcement in January that a division of British troops would be sent here, new elements entered the situation. Foreign newspaper correspondents here at Shanghai felt the reactions of a powerful propaganda in England and America to make it appear that this Settlement was in extreme danger. Some correspondents re-

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ceived telegrams from their home offices wanting to know why they had not sent this or that. Many private telegrams were received by people here from relatives, and from their offices in America, asking if they were safe. At that time, conditions in Shanghai were approximately normal. Inquiry among American correspondents here brought denials that any was sending alarming reports. Since then American newspapers of those days have reached China and the mystery is revealed. Many of those exaggerated reports reached America via London; but many bore a Washington date line and on their face indicated that they originated with the State Department and other government sources.

A little later came Mr. Kellogg's proposal to "neutralize" the foreign settlements at Shanghai. Several times in late years there have been overturns of Chinese authority in this region, and on each of those occasions these settlements were involved because of their position near the center of the thickly populated port and its environs, with an adjacent Chinese arsenal and naval base. Troops of a defeated faction at times would be driven back on the settlements. They would be stopped at the boundaries, disarmed, and interned. At times rifle and artillery fire would fall in the settlements. Foreign volunteer forces and special police, aided by landing parties from naval vessels, would man the boundaries. It was uncomfortable. Military experts often pointed out that it was impossible to protect the settlements from that kind of disturbance by confining defensive measures to the limits of the concessions. To make their neutrality effective it would be necessary to extend the lines some distance outside of the settlements into Chinese territory, to take in outlying railways, the arsenal, and docks. Two years ago such a defensive plan was prepared and referred to the Diplomatic Body at Peking. But to put such a plan into effect required, besides diplomatic assent, a military force to man the extended lines. Local forces are insufficient. The coming of a division of British troops and extra naval forces would provide men needed for that project.

It was certain that all factions of Chinese would object to a plan embracing the whole of China's principal seaport within the authority of foreign concessions under the euphemism of "neutralization." To realize the project required backing of important governments. The British Government, under criticism at home and in China for dispatching troops to Shanghai, obviously was inhibited from advancing that proposal. Japan would not do it. Mr. Kellogg did. It was a foregone conclusion that the Chinese would receive it coldly and with suspicion.

For some time before the collapse of the Northern military defense in this region, and before the Cantonese troops were near Shanghai, it was an open secret that the approach of the Southern forces would cause immediate extension of this Settlement's defensive lines outside its boundaries. The construction of barbed-wire obstructions far outside the Settlement was commenced quietly and without official announcement by the middle of February, as soon as it was known that Sun Chuan-fong, who worked hand-in-glove with local foreign authorities, had been driven from Hangchow. On February 25 some 2,000 British regular troops moved out of the Settlement and occupied "prearranged" defense lines. Up to then the move had waited on diplomatic consent, which had not come; when a number of shells fired by a Chinese gunboat fell inside the concessions on February 22 the occasion was seized immediately. An "international" character was given to that move by the participation of some Italian marines landed from a warship. Private efforts to get American, Japanese, French, and other forces then here to join in the movement failed. So far American naval forces have confined their actions to the limits of the International Settlement. The French authorities also have refused to extend the defenses of their concession beyond its limits.

Mr. Kellogg's neutralization proposal, coupled with the subsequent troop movements of other Powers, causes one to wonder if, as far back as last January, the American Government had approved a forcible occupation of Chinese territory. Well-informed persons here believe that in a short time the "defensive lines" will be extended to take in the entire port area, including Wusung and its antiquated forts, and the Chinese towns of Chapei, Nantao, and Pootung, embracing some 250 square miles. I am not predicting that action. I am indicating only that it is a matured project of the "government" of the International Settlement and will be a logical procedure. Thus step by step a naval and military occupation of China is developing.

The foreign concessions at Shanghai now resemble an armed camp. We live under what amounts almost to martial law. We are subject to a "curfew" rule requiring everyone to be off the streets by 10 o'clock at night. The two concessions are zigzagged with barbed-wire tangles intersecting important thoroughfares at a number of points. Traffic is permitted to pass only at certain points, causing congestion and delay. Except what is created by the presence of foreign forces, business is limited to daily and emergency requirements. Already there is a feeling that these precautions are overdone and that a state of panic has been created and is being maintained intentionally to influence international policy.

Foreign residents here find the situation increasingly irksome. Nearly all able-bodied men not otherwise indispensable are mobilized for military and police duty, while their business, if any, takes care of itself. Business is stagnant with little prospect of reviving soon. Liquidation confronts many firms. Hundreds of foreigners are winding up their affairs preparatory to leaving China. A little later, if nothing is done to ease the situation, we can expect the application to all foreigners here of the "economic weapons"—strikes, boycott, withdrawal of services, almost complete "non-cooperation" of Chinese with the foreigners.

Some profit by the situation. Those interests controlling land and houses in the concessions have made fortunes through the rise of realty values here. Rents and food prices have risen about 20 per cent since the first of the year. Chinese are pouring into the settlements, and some 35,000 foreign troops and naval forces (more than the number of foreigners to be defended) provide the protection to make Chinese and other refugees feel safe. I heard an estimate that if this situation is prolonged for three years (the British military have made arrangements as if expecting to remain that long) some interests here will make one hundred million dollars. Incidentally, those interests strongly influence, if indeed they do not dominate, our municipal administrations. They own the principal foreign newspapers here, and by their interlocking business ramifications practically run the settlements. Signs appear of a revolt against using these conditions for rent and other profiteering. There has been a protest of Chinese rate-

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payers, the Chinese working class are clamoring about food prices, and there is talk among foreigners of demanding a rent moratorium until things are normal. One hears grumbling, also, among volunteers who find their rents and other expenses mounting while they abandon their business for military and police duty.

Everyone here feels that indefinite prolongation of this situation is intolerable and yet there is no program looking toward a solution. Here we enter the realm of international politics.

There is no obscurity on one point. The issue is drawn squarely between a policy of military intervention and a policy of negotiation and compromise. It is evident that events more and more tend to make a solution by negotiation difficult and that powerful interests are working to make it impossible. For a long time the fires of race prejudice and passion have been fanned on both the Chinese and foreign sides. Less than two years ago a composite volunteer and naval force of less than 5,000 was enough to protect these settlements. Now many people contend that 40,000 are not enough.

The decision is in the hands of three Powers—the United States, Japan, and Great Britain. Those nations would have to finance an intervention and provide most of the troops. (That assumes they can act together; if they disagree the situation will become dangerously complicated.) When analyzed, intervention would be financed principally in America. In the end, one supposes, China would pay.

As things stand Japan is averse to intervention. Joint intervention would mean a white predominance in arrangements and outcome. It would tend to revive and might make permanent a white hegemony in Asia. It would work to the advantage of Japan's great trade rivals here, Great Britain and Germany. It would very definitely draw the foremost Pacific Power, America, into direct participation in political affairs in Eastern Asia. It might bring on a war with Russia for which Japan is not ready.

An explosion in China hardly can fail to bring on similar upheavals in India and throughout the Asiatic world.

America sees its traditional China policy in the balance. A false step at this juncture may draw our nation into war in Asia. As things are now, our religious and cultural work probably cannot go on for years, our trade is handicapped, our carefully built-up moral and political influence with the Chinese is being swept away by forces not of our making and not now under our direction or control.

Russia's influence, usually regarded as malign, colors the scene. The Soviets are charged with conspiring to bring chaos in China. Perhaps they are. But to lay this trouble entirely at Russia's door is foolishness.

China remains. Her new Nationalism is a complex of foreign influences and education implanted on ancient foundations, but it is fundamentally indigenous. To drive out some Russian advisers will not suppress it. As late as two years ago the anti-foreignism of Chinese Nationalism was academically political. Today it is aggressively hostile to foreigners and rapidly is becoming indiscriminate among them. What it is to be hereafter depends on how the Powers meet the crisis.

Greece Saves Herself

By H. C. JAQUITH

PRACTICALLY every country in Europe has either a Socialist labor party on the verge of power or a dictator in the seat of authority. Greece was in this second category until recently, when she demonstrated that a dictator can be tossed off the political see-saw without forcing the other end into the mud of party strife and struggle for office. A new equilibrium has been established in the revival of constitutional government, surprising even to the Athenians themselves. Following the November elections and the reopening of Parliament, a cabinet was formed composed of the leaders of practically all of the political factions. The Constantine-Venizelos double-headed ax has been buried. The royalist has supped with the republican, and the socialist has joined with the capitalist in an effort to prevent the reexploitation of the country and the people by the army.

A year and a half ago General Pangalos came into power because at least two-thirds of the energies of the previous constitutional governments had been expended in forming and reforming coalition cabinets from a multiplicity of party groups. General Pangalos at least remedied this previous lack of action. He rode iron-rimmed over the people and ignored the usual forms of administration for over a year, until General Condylis, combining military prestige and political experience and encouraged by two regiments of dissatisfied troops commonly supposed to be Pangalos's bodyguard, seized the seat of authority in Athens left vacant by the Dictator's week-end social sojourn on the Island of Spetzia. One quiet Sunday morning in August the seemingly impossible had been accomplished—the Dictator had been overthrown and cast into prison.

Condylis soon proved himself a patriot. Logically the successor to Pangalos, he renounced the dictatorship and called an election for November, voluntarily relinquishing his political leadership over a large group of potential deputies. He refused to allow his name to be used as a candidate, although certain of winning a seat in Parliament and probably a place in the Cabinet.

The election failed to give any one party a working majority. Coalitions again seemed necessary. Recalling the previous experience with this particular form of government and realizing the danger of another attempt on the part of the military to regain control of affairs, political interests were for the moment subordinated and all the party leaders gathered about the round table to form a cabinet. It is commonly called in Athens the Oecumenical Cabinet, which has no religious significance but is emblematic of the prevailing good-will.

Zaimis, non-participant in politics since the Balkan Wars, was chosen Premier; Kafandaris, Progressive Republican, Minister of Finance; Michalacopoulos, Conservative Republican, Minister of Foreign Affairs; Tsaldaris, Popular Monarchy Party, Home Secretary; Metaxas, Royalist Nationalist, Minister of Public Works; and A. Papa-

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nastassiou, Socialist Democrat, Minister of Agriculture.

The Oecumenical Government, taking office in November, first deprived the military of its political power. Then it set about to reduce the expenses of both the army and the navy, canceling supply contracts, demobilizing several regiments, and decommissioning a number of naval units. Both the political power and the financial burden of the military were soon abolished.

The Cabinet further tested the strength of its own union in a way that only those who understand recent Greek history can fully appreciate. The Royalists requested a special memorial service in Athens in honor of King Constantine, for which permission had previously been withheld. The request was unanimously voted by the Cabinet. The services were held and attended by representatives of all the parties. Encouraged by this success, the rank and file of the Royalist Party wished to hold similar services in each of the larger communities throughout the country, but were restrained because the Royalist members of the Cabinet recognized that a popular political interpretation would be placed upon these services and they would be used as Royalist propaganda, thereby weakening the effectiveness of the Oecumenical Cabinet.

An important factor in the appraisal of the Greece of today is its new racial unity. Almost a million and a half refugees, most of them from Turkey, Greeks by birth, replaced the three hundred sixty thousand Moslems of Turkish origin, resident in Macedonia and the Islands, who were deported to Anatolia. The homogeneous Hellenic population was increased by over a million.

Salonika is noticeably Jewish. Traces of the earlier Slavic migrations southward are still discernible in western Macedonia. By a clause in the Lausanne Treaty the Moslem Turk in western Thrace remains in compensation for the Greeks who had been allowed to stay in Constantinople. Because of the generous attitude of the Greek Government at the time of the Smyrna disaster, over ninety thousand Armenians were admitted into the country without question or restriction. However, owing to the economic pressure inevitable in a country flooded with refugees, over half of these Armenians have sought permanent homes in France or elsewhere. For the Bulgarians still resident in Greece and Greeks still resident in Bulgaria, the two governments have provided a commission, under the neutral direction of the League of Nations, for the voluntary exchange of these people, with their possessions. These non-Greek groups, comprising about three hundred thousand persons, are relatively unimportant in the unified racial progress of the country.

The economic situation in Greece is also improving. Greece has floated but one loan since the war and this was for constructive purposes, namely, the settlement of her homeless refugees; $50,000,000 was subscribed from the financial centers of New York, London, and Athens. The guaranties of this loan were the Greek revenues. The administration was under a refugee settlement commission appointed by the League of Nations. Evidence of its value is to be seen on every hand by even the casual traveler. A hundred and forty-seven thousand families are no longer refugees, but are contented, industrious farmers in Macedonia, Thessaly, Attica, and the Peloponnesus. The still unfinished task requires a supplementary loan of at least $10,000,000.

Twice since the World War Greece has startled the economist by reversing the common practice of raising state revenue by increasing the output of the printing press. Greece has reduced the amount of currency in circulation—the first time by 50 per cent, the second by 25 per cent. This has been accomplished by the simple process of cutting off the ends of the paper drachma notes and officially declaring the remaining portion to have half or three-quarters of its previous value. The individual, in return for the cut portion, the diminutive half or quarter, is given a government bond of full face but doubtful market value. Since the value of money in countries not on a gold basis is determined largely by the amount of currency in circulation, divided by the population and its average economic needs, any radical reduction in the available amount of drachmas increases their purchasing power and strengthens the credit of the nation. On the other hand, since the total currency in circulation in Greece is restricted by an international finance commission, the Government by enforcing a reduction obtains certain rights of replacement and the privilege of new issue. By this method of internal financing, Greece has been enabled to meet her current expenses and her external obligations during a critical period without resorting to the common practice of trying to negotiate foreign loans to meet local needs. It is noticeable that during this period the value of the drachma has remained relatively high and unexpectedly consistent.

During the last three years the general economic conditions in the country have steadily improved. The Government has made an earnest effort to encourage agriculture, industry, and trade, and has regulated its tariffs accordingly. The settlement of the rural refugees on previously uncultivated land, and the division of large estates and monastic properties among the peasantry, have greatly increased the agricultural production of the country. Even with this additional activity, Greece is not self-supporting and is compelled yearly to import large quantities of foodstuffs, especially wheat.

The revival of Greek shipping, together with the forced transfer of the Greek wholesale and retail merchants from Constantinople and Smyrna, has developed Piraeus into the third-largest port on the Mediterranean. The growth of Salonika, the natural port of entry to the Balkans, is quite as remarkable. The new city has been built in the burned ruins of a war-ridden and malarial pest-hole. Provision has been made for a Serbian free port through which goods may pass in transit, without customs duties or local restrictions, direct to Belgrade and the markets to the north. The Greek Government also recognizes Salonika as the logical center of the rich agricultural and tobacco area of Macedonia, and has promoted a large agricultural and industrial fair which is to be made an annual event.

Friends of the League of Nations were greatly pleased when they heard that one of the charges on which Pangalos might possibly be tried was of having violated Greece's contract as a member of the League through his hasty action following the incident on the Bulgarian frontier. Fundamentally, however, Greece is at peace with her neighbors. The Greek press expressed little concern over the recent Italian agreement with Albania. Serbia has been tentatively appeased by the establishment of the free port at Salonika. The post-war differences with Turkey have been settled amicably. Even the troublesome Macedonian question quite disappeared from within the Greek frontiers by the advent of a unified population.

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The Collapse of the Needle Trades

By BENJAMIN STOLBERG

4. Furs Which Smell to Heaven

THE New York furriers went on partial strike in 1907. They lost. The next five years were a period of much trial and some error. The rather stolid German "old timers" were displaced by young Russian Jews, fresh from the revolution of 1905-1906. They struck again in 1912. Gompers helped. The Socialist Party helped. The 1909-1910 victories in the clothing unions helped a lot. The strike was won. Dr. Judah Magnes became the arbitrator in the industry. The New York furriers became a federal union of the American Federation of Labor. In 1913 the collective-bargaining machinery was perfect. The International Fur Workers Union was established. Albert W. Miller, a conservative trade unionist, became president. Isidore Cohen, an excellent organizer and nothing more, became the manager of the New York Joint Board.

The rank and file of the new union was progressive. But it soon lost its vigilance. The fur market never has been, is not now, demoralized beyond the usual business cycle. Wages were, are now, comparatively high. The industry, though a small-shop industry, is too much of a guild trade to be a sweatshop. Union politics in a large craft is watched by the press, by liberal opinion, by the labor movement at large. Union politics in a small union, unless the rank and file is perpetually wary, becomes stealthy, then moldy, and under factionalism it tends toward sordidness. The furriers have had some fine types among their leaders—Andrew Wenneis, David Mikol. But these could not finally control the poolroom atmosphere. Both Miller and Cohen proved to be miserable negotiators. During the high-pressure seasons the worker in this industry often conspires with the boss to cheat on union rules. The almost kleptomaniac attraction of small pieces of fur is not conducive to a high morale. The business agent, who today has to watch about 1,400 shops in Greater New York, is often tempted to wink at such infractions. By 1918 petty corruption was rife.

By 1918 a strong opposition against the Cohen regime finally broke to the surface under the leadership of Morris Kaufman. Kaufman became international president and lasted until 1925. He has been the main target of the present Left Wing, which pictures him as the slimy associate of "gunmen." Actually Kaufman was an honest and efficient routine official, without imagination; an excellent negotiator with the small-shop owner. But he was too weak to throw off the petty grafters and strong-arm boys who had attached themselves to the union, exactly as Ben Gold was too weak to rid the Joint Board of the same element in 1926.

From 1918 to 1920 the industry was prosperous. But in 1920 it met a serious slump. Under Harding normalcy speculation in skins ran riot. The small manufacturer is too incompetent and poor to weather a wild speculative crisis. In April he began laying off his help. In May he tried to cut wages. A strike was called, demanding a 40-hour week and equal division of work through the year. The strike lasted thirty weeks. It was lost, but the union managed to stand its ground.

It was during this strike that the present Left Wing first began to sprout. Ben Gold, Mrs. Warschawsky, Isidore Shapiro, and other contemporary Lefts were then as yet innocent of all "scientific Leninism." They were just plain anti-administration. They opposed calling the strike. They began a vigorous attack on the Kaufman machine which, under such heavy fire, fell under the control of its own most unscrupulous element. Gold was beaten up, if not at the behest at least with the malevolent neutrality of the machine. All of which drove the Lefts further left. In 1921 and 1922 the Workers Party and the Trade Union Educational League entered the scene. Practically all the Lefts joined the Communists. In the two large needle trades the Communists had to proceed carefully, but they openly assumed control of the Furriers' Left Wing.

During the last seven years the personality of Ben Gold has played a significant part. He entered union politics, violently, as a youth of 22. He has been in the thick of it ever since. Affable, attractive, and extremely vital, he gives the impression of knowing what he wants; which is the last thing he knows. Personally honest above suspicion, he is psychologically dishonest with the recklessness of a histrionic youth. He relies on his demagogic powers and on a sort of untruthfulness which he honestly believes to be strategic acumen. It is this irresponsibility, which has nothing in the world to do with communism, which has got him into his present difficulties. Weisbord, too, is a Communist, yet, in Passaic, Weisbord did the finest piece of labor organization since the nineties. The difference is one of character.

Gold undoubtedly expressed the disaffection of the rank and file with the cumulative abuses of the Kaufman administration. In 1924 the Kaufman machine carried the convention with the steam roller. Kaufman maneuvered himself into the stupid predicament where he had to suspend Gold and his most vociferous adherents. Whereupon the *Freiheit* and the *Daily Worker* and the *Forward* began their usual cross-fire of recrimination, abuse, and provocation. Finally a special peace convention, simultaneous with the peace convention of the women's garment workers in Philadelphia, was called to meet in Boston in November, 1925.

In this convention the Kaufman group controlled 34 votes; the Gold group 26 votes. But in the meantime a "neutral" United Front had been formed which controlled a shifting 10 to 12 votes. The United Front "neutrality" played fast and loose—for office. Nine-tenths of the convention was taken up with the Right-Left fight. By that time the Left was under the absolute discipline of the Workers Party, whose representative William Weinstone directed Left tactics from the floor. Ruthenberg, the late secretary of the party, was in constant telegraphic communication with Weinstone. Kaufman was defeated. Shachtman, of the "United Front," a weak and colorless personality, became international president. Gold came into control of the New York Joint Board, which has jurisdiction over 80 per cent of the membership. "Peace" having thus been achieved, everybody returned to New York to face the expiration of the contract with the employers.

The union demanded a 40-hour week, with a 32-hour week in slack seasons; equal division of work through the

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year; a 25 per cent wage increase; an unemployment insurance fund to which the employer was to contribute 3 per cent of his wage roll. While these demands were being formulated Shachtman, for reasons unknown even to himself, attacked Gold as a liar, a swindler, and a Communist tool. The manufacturers met this splendid outburst of solidarity with a lockout. The union reciprocated with a general strike, which lasted from February 15 to June 11, 1926.

Gold became the chairman of the General Strike Committee. As in the cloakmakers' strike, the Rights were side-tracked from all influence. A lawyer named Abraham Goldman was hired, under whose legal protection fees and legal expenses ran to $78,906.50. All told, $838,203.55 was spent, a vast but not necessarily a fantastic figure. Of this sum $501,930.13 was transferred from the Joint Board to the strike committee, a rather irregular procedure; as well as $98,000 of employers' security money, a most irregular and reprehensible procedure.

Two reliable public accountants subsequently went over strike finances. They found that only $64,477.91 was supported by proper vouchers, while $130,267.18 was totally unsupported expenditures. Of the other $643,458.46 no audit of any kind was possible. Gold claimed that strike finances were analyzed with an anti-communist bias because the accountants were hired by the A. F. of L. In this connection, however, it is worth mention that the funds for relief work during the Passaic strike under Albert Wagenknecht, one of the founders of American communism, were handled not merely with meticulous entry, but with a positive genius for making a penny pay a nickel's worth. The difference between Morris Cohen, the secretary-treasurer of the Furriers' Joint Board, who finally admitted that the books on strike finances were made up after the strike, and Albert Wagenknecht, who humbly served the textile strikers of Passaic, again has nothing to do with communism.

The strike committee claims to have spent $556,174.17 on relief; according to one of the accountants, $450,000 is about the sum expended for this purpose. The picket committee spent $31,691.90. The general hall committee spent $25,630, besides rents, which is unexplainable. The meaning of $19,709.80 for "law prisoners' relief" has never been discovered; $45,117.31 went for meal tickets.

There is not the shadow of a doubt that gangsterism ran rife during the strike. There is not the shadow of a doubt that not merely scabs, but union critics of the conduct of the strike, were beaten up, some mercilessly, in union headquarters. Soon after the strike began President Shachtman left for "out-of-town" work, though there were not enough workers outside of New York City to hurt the market if every one of them had scabbed. During the third week of the strike President Green of the A. F. of L. was called into the situation. By and large, Green and Hugh Frayne, the New York organizer of the A. F. of L., handled the situation rather ineptly, though they were handicapped by the fact that Gold was carrying on independent negotiations with the employers. During the seventh week of the strike the A. F. of L. officials worked out a tentative "eight-points basis of settlement," which they tried to present to the workers in a Carnegie Hall meeting called over the heads of the strike leaders. When Frayne refused to permit Gold himself to come into the hall, the workers responded to this brilliant bit of strategy by shouting down the meeting.

Finally, Gold settled the strike with the aid of Mr. Eitingon, a very large fur importer, who enjoys an enormous concession in Russia. The Rights constantly emphasize this fact, as though it had any bearing on the situation. Employers who help to settle strikes in their industry usually have some interest at stake. Suffice it to say that Mr. Eitingon was strong enough to bend the Associated Fur Manufacturers to his will. The union won the basic 40-hour week, of five days. It had to give up the pay for three legal holidays; and to grant the 44-hour week, on single pay, during the busy season. The Rights criticize this arrangement on the ground that during slack seasons the workers never get 40 hours. But, in this case, the principle is certainly important. The minimum wage was increased 10 per cent. It was agreed that the entire garment was to be produced on the premises and that no apprentices were to be hired until February, 1928. The union withdrew its unemployment insurance demand. In spite of much difference of opinion regarding the terms, the Gold settlement was considered a victory by the rank and file, which infuriated the Rights since it tended to intrench the Left Joint Board.

Soon after the settlement the A. F. of L. decided to "investigate" the conduct of the strike, supposedly to iron out all factional differences. All sides unctuously agreed, being equally dishonest. Later on Messrs. Woll and Frayne were "horrified" by what they found, as though they had never heard of Mr. Brindell and the building trades. The A. F. of L. investigated the strike—an unusual procedure in view of its traditional policy of union self-determination—for one reason: to get rid of Communist control. And, indeed, later on, on March 2, 1927, the Left Joint Board was suspended by the international office under charges whose legality is entirely a matter of interpretation.

President Green appointed an investigating committee with Matthew Woll as chairman. The final report of the committee is undoubtedly true, both in essence and detail. Matthew Woll is far too shrewd to frame truth which is stranger than fiction. Part 5 of the report deals with alleged police graft. Isidore Shapiro, chairman of the law committee, is stenographically quoted as having said to the Woll committee, in explaining his transactions with Goodman, the strike committee's lawyer, that the following sums had to be paid for police protection: "Inspectors, $250; captains, $100 to $150; lieutenants, $50; sergeants, $20 to $25; industrial squad chief, $100; ten men in the industrial squad, $50 a week." Samuel Mensher is quoted as stating that he personally "paid the cops" in his capacity as chairman of the general picket committee. It is this "Part 5" which has been investigated by Magistrate Corrigan. The Lefts repudiate these statements. Gold characterized the report as "a brazen attempt of the blackest type of frame-up" and a "dastardly conspiracy" on the part of the A. F. of L.; which is pure bunk. The fact is that the A. F. of L. never meant this part of the report to leak out. The Central Trades and Labor Council of New York has strong Tammany connections. Besides, if any one is so evil-minded as to believe that the police ever accept graft, it is inadvisable to express such thoughts, partly because they can never be substantiated. If police take money they do not take it marked. Hence the spectacle at the Corrigan hearings, where the Lefts vehemently deny ever having made such incredible statements, while the Rights insist that they never believed the Lefts.

In the meantime an A. F. of L. committee organized a new Joint Board, which now claims the support of about 6,000 workers. The Associated Fur Manufacturers, who

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employ 75 per cent of the workers, has recognized this official board. The Fur Trimming Manufacturers Association has recognized the suspended Joint Board. But, in the long run, the Gold group is bound to lose. It cannot claim it is part of the A. F. of L. when the A. F. of L. says it is not.

5. Whither Tailor?

The future of the progressive needle trades is uncertain. Only vague tendencies may be discerned in the present chaos. These unions are in danger of moving to the far Right. Just now the workers in the International Ladies Garment Workers and the furriers' unions are undoubtedly forced to register with their Right-controlled internationals, whether they like it or not, for they must have a union card to work. But this does not quite describe the situation. A noticeable current of apathy, the danger signal of rank-and-file reaction, is developing. The Jewish radical, once he gets tired, gets awfully tired, with his usual extremism. The cynicism among Jewish needle workers at present is extraordinary.

Also the Jew in America is not likely to remain an industrial worker. On the continent of Western Europe, where there has been practically no immigration of proletarian East European Jewry, there is no Jewish working class. With the stoppage of immigration the same process is going on here. Only 40 per cent of the membership in the Amalgamated is Jewish. Most of the contractors and submanufacturers have been workers. The children of the Jewish tailors will not bend over the sewing-machine. What changes this process will engender no one can foretell.

The Sigman administration will have to begin building up the International Ladies Garment Workers Union slowly and painfully, under adverse economic tendencies in the industry. Until Shachtman is displaced in the Furriers Union no progress is conceivable, though the conditions of the industry are more favorable. The one real ray of hope in the progressive direction of the needle trades is the Amalgamated. Hillman wants to take the Amalgamated into the A. F. of L. Its organization work would proceed far more smoothly were it not for the petty opposition of the A. F. of L. central bodies in the small towns. In the larger cities, also, the United Garment Workers hinders the Amalgamated in every way. For many other reasons Hillman seems to think that affiliation with the A. F. of L. would be worth $50,000 a year in per capita taxation. No doubt the militancy and the industrial competence of the Amalgamated would do a great deal of good in the dominant movement. In 1920, and again in 1923, Hillman led in the abortive efforts to create a Needle Trades Alliance. He profoundly believes in the ultimate industrial unionization of the needle trades. The other progressive needle trades suspect his motives: "Hillman wants to lead." Of course. Like all great leaders Hillman harmonizes his person with his movement. He wants power for his social politics. Should the Amalgamated become affiliated with the A. F. of L., a revival of the progressive spirit in the other needle trades might be possible under its leadership. But the general situation in the needle trades is far too confused at present for prognosis. It is well to remember that, after all, these unions, with the rest of American labor, are at the mercy of social forces which are constantly strengthening the hegemony of Big Business.

[*This article concludes the analysis of the needle trades which has appeared in three successive issues of* The Nation.]

The Rich Socialist

By J. A. HOBSON

THAT a man or women well endowed with this world's goods should be a Socialist is for most of us a paradox. So accustomed are we to assume that personal interests mold beliefs and aspirations. A recent controversy in the English press, stirred by the electioneering in which Mr. Moseley and his wife, Lady Cynthia, were protagonists, exhibited a curious blend of ill-temper and bad reasoning. When an isolated member of the well-to-do classes professed labor sympathies a generation ago, he was tolerated as an eccentric. But now there are so many that it has ceased to be a joke. Hence the new animus against "traitors to their class." They surely must be hypocrites or ruthless careerists! Although the makers of modern socialism in most European countries have come from the well-to-do educated minority, men unusually sensitive to the injustice, inhumanity, waste, and ugliness of our economic system, this is forgotten in the eagerness to denounce the madness and criminality of an attack on the sanctity of the established order.

It was a ragged, foolish chatter, chiefly marked by a total inability to understand what socialism, be it right or wrong, attainable or utopian, actually stands for. Its openings usually consisted in confusing socialism with communism, and in pretending to express surprise that a Socialist should have any truck with private property, or consent to live in any sort of reasonable comfort. To reply to such controversialists that Socialists were out to secure private property and comfortable living for all, instead of for the few, would simply seem an impudent perversion of the facts.

But the real interest of the performance lay in the queer imbecility of the advice tendered to the rich Socialist who might wish to save his soul. To some the solution was a very simple one. He ought to refuse to touch "the accursed thing." Rent, profits, or dividends, inherited or currently extorted gains—the wages of his own or his father's sins—let him cease handling it! If he were sincere, that is what he would do. "O sancta simplicitas!" But would the property with its recurrent income, which he refused to touch, cease to exist? He draws income from real estate. If he refuses to take his rents, he endows his tenants with money they have no more right to than he. He draws dividends from his holdings of stocks and shares. Why should he enrich his fellow-shareholders with the coupons he refuses to bank? If such income were the wages of sin, he could not transfer the burden from his conscience to that of others, without even asking their consent. Evidently this is no way out.

Others, not so simple, urged that if he were a genuine Socialist he would dispose of the money "consistently with socialist principles." He might, for instance, try Christianity, and sell all that he hath and give it unto the poor. In a recent play by Mr. Eden Phillpotts, "Yellow Sands," the "Bolshie" who comes into money is at first disposed to take this line and divide his inheritance among the unemployed. But when he realizes that it will amount to no more than two pence a head, and will go in relief of the rates paid by property owners through the poor law, his enthusiasm for dividing evaporates. One well-meaning gentleman, writing to the *Times*, thought he ought to invest it in a business the

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shares of which he should hand over to ten workers in that business. But what claim have these particular workers to have the profits of this business handed over as a bonus? They have not earned it.

Others, again, would have our rich Socialist hand over his property or income to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, as a voluntary act of socialism! But, if he brings intelligent reflection to bear upon this policy, he may well hesitate. To hand it to a "capitalist government" to be expended in building more cruisers? Or in reducing the supertax upon other rich men? Or in helping to wipe out the war debt so as to facilitate the finance of the next war? Or to reduce the deficit in this year's budget, the natural penalty of bad administration? As a Socialist he cannot ease the situation for capitalism. Not he!

But, at any rate, there is the party fund. Let him endow that with his riches! Yet here again, if he has any experience in party politics, he may well pause before parting with his money to "the machine." In England just now he will be confronted with the ignoble squabble of the rival sections of the Liberal Party over the Lloyd George money, and with the notion that a party can buy a new soul with a million-pounds fund. The older parties, indeed, are hardened to such finances. But for a Labor Party to care to depend upon gifts from its rich adherents for its fighting finance would be a really deadly damage to its equalitarian spirit.

Of course a rich Socialist may do something with his money to help his cause and ease his conscience. He can at least devote the time and personal energy that are at the disposal of one who has not to earn a livelihood. If his wealth employs others, he can see that the conditions of employment are of the best. In an ill-ordered world there will be individual cases of misfortune he can help. Though charity is no substitute for justice, and organized charity is too often either a mechanical device for keeping unpleasantness out of sight, or a protection against "uncharitable" scrutinies into sources of wealth, it must always have its place in an imperfect world. As for educational and other social works that call for large expenditures, the owner of easy or ill-gotten wealth is always in this difficulty. The acquisition and ownership of wealth confer no aptitude for sound expenditure on behalf of others, rather the contrary. On the whole, the best use of money is made by those who have earned it. Great millionaire endowments, however well meant, are likely in the long run to do more harm than good, especially if, as is commonly the case, they liberate the public from the useful obligation to provide for its needs out of its own resources.

The crux of the matter is that individual conduct cannot solve a social problem. Many well-meaning people refuse to see this. A form of moral individualism is widely prevalent in our churches and our educated circles. In the last resort we are told "everything depends on personal character. Let each do his separate part aright, and the whole world will be right!" Now, as we see in the extreme case of the rich Socialist, this is not true. No such separatist solution is practicable. Precisely because "we are all members of one another," sound social policies cannot emanate from individuals. A good employer in competitive trade cannot go far in raising wages and shortening hours, Henry Ford notwithstanding. Social cooperation alone can solve social problems.

So the rich Socialist finds himself in a spiritual quandary. He cannot surrender his riches to the use of the unsound competitive society in which he finds himself. His critics charge him with inconsistency, because he is driven to compromise with principles that are only practicable in a better order than the present. Consistency will not be possible until a government of industry with equitable distribution stops the accumulation of excessive wealth. And consistency will not then be needed. Then there will be no rich Socialists.

In the Driftway

THE debt that noted men of our time, especially prominent politicians, owe to anonymous scribes for the preparation of their public addresses and state papers is well known. The particular persons to whom this debt is due are hardly known at all outside a limited circle. Their services run all the way from preparing pleasant words of greeting for delegations of clubwomen to writing 300-page books. Of one of our Governors at the present time the first question asked by the knowing in regard to any of his important statements or addresses is "Who wrote it for him?" In the Harding regime in Washington there was, shall one say a literary adviser? on the White House pay roll.

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THIS state of affairs is accepted tranquilly enough in regard to the celebrities of our day, but we generally think earlier ages were free from the vice—if such it is. Probably they were not. In Tennessee, for instance, some one has lately dug up a copy of the Nashville *Republican* for April 27, 1837, in which a letter is printed from Judge Breckinridge, making some revealing comments in regard to the state papers of President Jackson. Of the general's goodby speeches Judge Breckinridge says:

> I know something about these farewell addresses, having written two of them for him. The first of these was on the occasion of his taking leave of his command in the army. The only part of it that was his was an uncouth memorandum containing some illiberal and ungentlemanly reflections on a brother officer who stood high in the estimation of the country [General Brown], but who had been so unfortunate as to speak with disapprobation of the practice of whipping in the army. This is all that Jackson contributed to the address. The other state paper was on his leaving Florida, where he had displayed his excessive energy for some months as civil and military governor. He said to me: "You know how to fix it." I wrote the address without a single suggestion from Jackson and he signed it without making a single alteration. The incapacity of General Jackson has become proverbial.

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SELDOM has the Drifter loosed a greater flood of correspondence than when he suggested, some weeks back, that "nobody loves an automobile." He intended to close the discussions when, in a later issue, he gave up his entire column to excerpts from letters, but even at this date he cannot ignore a bit of evidence sent by Ferd Gottlieb from the office of the Kansas City *Star*. Mr. Gottlieb forwards a local news item from his newspaper which reads in part:

> His pride hurt by an offer of only $319 for his used motor car, George T. McDermott is building a $400 garage as a permanent home for the faithful family friend. Furthermore, he has employed two of Topeka's best architects

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to design it, and Senator Capper has promised to lay the cornerstone.

"Why, that old bus is only four years old," Mr. McDermott declared. "Think of their offering me only $319 for it! I told them to go to thunder, bought a new one, and kept the old one. I'll put my new car in the old garage. That old car runs like a new one." . . .

The cornerstone will contain reminders of the occasion —a few newspapers, coins, signatures, and a monkey wrench from the old bus.

"Here's a real instance of devotion for the old family motor car," comments the Drifter's correspondent. "Has any man done more for his horse?" Perhaps not; but if this Kansas City man had ever *had* a horse the Drifter surmises he would have done more for it.

THE DRIFTER

Correspondence

The Ford Legend

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: I was very much interested in Selwyn Schapiro's review of Charles W. Wood's book "The Myth of the Individual." What most appealed to me was the reviewer's acute analysis of the "Ford legend" which is gaining ground among radicals and ex-radicals.

Mr. Wood is an outstanding example of this tendency. The American radical never visualized a revolution; and when the overturn in Russia came, he drew back affrighted. Being still aware of the social problem and fearful of revolution, he saw a possible and safe way out in capitalism abolishing its own evils, and so he is falling into the arms of Henry Ford, the greatest of all capitalists.

New York, April 26 AN AMERICAN RADICAL

The Fight at West Chester

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: There can be no more vital question in a republic than the question of the freedom of teaching. If learning be not free, no kind of freedom can long endure. To reestablish this freedom, now almost gone in America, is our objective at West Chester. The dismissal of approved teachers because of their ideas and beliefs or for their social and political activities, must become impossible in "the land of the free."

By our struggle we hope to impress the mind of America with a sense of the existing conditions, which will be seen to be intolerable. When the competent teacher is so insecure in his position that he must live in constant fear; when an American Legion post can demand his removal and boast of its "moral influence" when he is dropped; when a political board can unceremoniously expel him, without a hearing and without an explanation that is not ridiculous; when an ignorant business manager can boast that he does the hiring and firing: it is time for a nation of free citizens to be aroused. We purpose to awaken the dormant mind of America to a realization of this detestable tyranny.

Consider the effect upon the students of this enslavement of the teacher. What confidence can they have in their instructors when any vital matter of social or political science is under discussion, if they know those instructors are subject to Legion or other espionage and censorship? All honor and all influence go from the vocation of teaching. And the students cease to learn, or to be led, but only jest at the comic wobblings of the despicable hireling before them.

Following complete information of the facts, such general indignation must result that the board of trustees of the West Chester Teachers' College will be forced to resign and their successors to choose new administrative officers. It is the duty of the State Department of Public Instruction at Harrisburg to cooperate in this housecleaning at West Chester.

To win freedom for the teacher, and to safeguard him in his position, is the great task we set before us. How shall this be accomplished? There is a way, and that way is manifest. The wage-worker has taught the teacher, but the teacher has been a slow learner. It will be our task to demonstrate to the teachers of America the necessity of following the course of the workers of America and to unionize. Unionization is the teachers' only hope. The teachers of England long since discovered this, and brain and brawn in England are united in a common cause.

If we cannot accomplish this, then all respect and all influence are gone from our profession. The teacher will be an object of pity, financially and spiritually, harassed by anxiety, dominated by fear, ineffective and despised. If we succeed, education in America will enter upon a new era and our civilization will advance to a new level.

To deliver learning from a growing and abhorrent tyranny is the purpose of our controversy with the Legion and the board of trustees.

West Chester, Pennsylvania, April 21 ROBERT T. KERLIN

All Aboard for Russia

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: It may interest some of *The Nation's* readers to know that Louis Fischer has consented to conduct a group of students which will go to Russia this summer under the auspices of the National Student Federation of America and the Open Road. The group will spend a week in Leningrad and a week in Moscow. It will spend its remaining three weeks in the Ukraine (one of the autonomous republics of the Union), the Crimea, a famous worker's-rest area, and in White Russia, just across from the Polish border.

New York, April 18 ELIZABETH K. VAN ALSTYNE

Congress a Preparatory School

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: A certain ex-Senator, in seeking reelection, plastered his constituency with his picture, modestly adding the words: "I have kept the faith." Presumably lack of space prevented him adding the words, "of the Oil Trust"; he is now working for it.

I am preparing a little list of members of Congress who have graduated from Congress into the service of the superstate and I would be glad to have such additions as your readers may be able to supply.

Canton, Pennsylvania, April 15 JOHN BASIL BARNHILL

Why We Can't Buy Books

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Two important features have been overlooked in your interesting discussion on The Business of Book-Making: Small apartments limit the number of books purchased because space is not available for their proper care or availability. This constitutes an effective bar to the "effective desire for accumulation" of volumes. Friendly warfare develops between an end-table and a stack of books, between a floor lamp and five-foot bookshelf.

The second omitted element is the desirability or necessity of traveling through life lightly, especially in the strata which might under other circumstances "come into the market" for volumes. To an unexpected degree impedimenta of books constitute a bar to that mobility which is necessary today.

Boston, April 20 MAURICE B. HEXTER

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Books and Plays

Never, Perhaps

By HAL SAUNDERS WHITE

Not yet—never, perhaps,
Shall these eyes see
Direct and free and calm
Uncalculated truth
Sheer clear unaltered by desire
Or fear,
Unbent by kindliness.
Never, perhaps, this pen shall learn to speak
With truth's economy
In rhythms as of rivers to the sea
Of that still deep untroubledness
Standing unfearful through the measured days
Men use to mark the cycles of their pain.
Yet I shall dream of words like arrow-shafts,
Yet I shall dream by night of that clear day
When not desire shall make our world for us
Nor fevered fingers wield a striving pen;
When that unutterable ease
Which gives to gray trees leaves unfevered of desire
And lets them, searing, down a dampened wind,
Shall be direct in me,
And all of life shall mean unceasingly
What life has ever meant
In those strange scattered intervals of calm
Between heart's pride, and hope,
And lusting after life.

First Glance

SIX hundred tall wide pages of commentary on two English poems might seem to be too much, and there is a sense in which John Livingston Lowes, author of "The Road to Xanadu" (Houghton Mifflin: $6), does say too much about "The Ancient Mariner" and "Kubla Khan," or rather about the mind which gave them forth. But I shall reserve that point for another paragraph. Here let me record my joy that such a job has been done at all—that someone with Mr. Lowes's taste and enthusiasm has let himself down into the chaos of Coleridge's mind just on the eve of the poet's best efforts in the art over which, for the most part, he was a fumbler. For a few years before that famous day in 1798 when Coleridge and Wordsworth began to understand and stimulate each other, Coleridge had been reading—reading everything he could lay his hands on and hunting with particular relish for strange, gleaming facts imbedded in old travel books. It has long been known how in this period he intoxicated himself with Hakluyt and Purchas, not to mention Captain Cook, William Bartram, and hundreds of other geographers. And a German edition was available of the curiously disordered notebook he kept in order to remind himself that in such and such a folio, on page this or that, he could find some wonderful detail about sea monsters, ice fields, or tropic calms in case he needed it in his business. But the whole content of his mind at this date was not known. Mr. Lowes, so far as the thing was possible, has learned it and has made it known. Starting with the notebook, but stopping nowhere, he has tracked his hero's intelligence as it plowed through all those thousands of pages. Mr. Lowes, in a word, has read substantially everything which Coleridge read in the years that mattered. The result is something unique—a sense of intimacy with the brain of an artist as he sits down to compose masterpieces.

The risk which Mr. Lowes ran, of course, was the risk that he presume upon this intimacy and begin to suppose himself capable of knowing just how the poems got written. The perfect thing, for one possessed of Mr. Lowes's erudition, would have been simply to arrange the reading of Coleridge on one side of an imaginary line and to print the poems on the other side, pointing out traces of direct borrowing wherever possible, suggesting probable affinities here or there, and most of the time saying nothing. The concern of such a scholar, in other words, would be wholly with demonstrable facts. Mr. Lowes has generally confined himself to facts, and so has written a book of enormous value. But as he goes on he falls more and more into talk about "processes" and "ways" of the imagination. To be sure, he protests that he is not trying to "explain" the two poems, and makes much of their mystery. There is a rather awful glibness, however, in his very protestations; so that one is prepared to hear him resorting eventually to terms like "reordering," "transmutation," and "the shaping spirit," and one is not surprised to find him falling into confused imagery of a sort that permits him to speak of "raw materials" taken out of a "well" and woven on a "loom." All this part of the book was tiresome and prosaic to me. It was final proof that the more one knows about poetry the less one knows—and says.

MARK VAN DOREN

Fresh Air in American History

The Rise of American Civilization. By Charles A. Beard and Mary R. Beard. The Macmillan Company. Two volumes. $12.50.

THE work has no preface—that first aid to reviewers. I don't make a grievance of it in this case, because a book by C. A. Beard I should wish to read anyhow, sooner or later. These two substantial and finely printed volumes (with excellent woodcuts by Wilfred Jones) I have read, as they say, "with profit," which is something, and with great delight, which is more. I don't say it's a "gripping" book, nor yet a "compelling" one. What is it then? Well, it's a Beard book. That is to say, it is written with verve and swift facility, with nervous, careless prodigality of phrase and epithet, with free and pungent comment, and with an occasional irrepressible sardonic sideswipe at anything smug that turns up by the way. It is a masterly survey of American civilization in successive periods (with the narrative of events reduced to a minimum), conceived as the motive, action, thought of fallible human creatures, inspired as may be by mean or great objects, but carried along by the resistless sweep of economic forces. A Marxian interpretation in the main, but saved from the thin doctrinaire perfection of that or any other formula by exact knowledge, intellectual honesty, and a rapier-like intelligence that refuses to be duped by illusions, whether tough or tender minded.

The central thesis, if there is one (the authors do not stress it), is indicated by the division into chapters and their respective titles. The first volume carries the story down to the Civil War, or thereabouts, and is called "The Agricultural Era"; the second volume is entitled "The Industrial Era." The business of colonial settlement being quickly dispatched, there follow four admirable chapters describing provincial America and elucidating the causes and the character of the American

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Revolution. The account of the revolution will not commend itself to the D. A. R. The "Critical Period" is found to have been critical chiefly to business and financial interests, and the establishment of the Constitution a triumph (mainly) of creditors over debtors. The rise of national parties is not to be explained (not fully) by the "instinctive differences" between people (as Macaulay thought), or by "differences of opinion concerning the nature and function of the Union" (as Bryce thought), but by "causes more substantial than matters of temperament or juristic theory." They are to be explained essentially as the result of a conflict between the industrial and the agricultural interest; so that it was no accident that "a New York lawyer stood at the head of the party which despised the masses, and a Virginia slave-owner led the party which professed faith in the multitude." (But what about the theory that Jefferson loved humanity because his father was cross to him?) The victory of the industrial interest in 1789 was, however, only temporary—an interlude occasioned (so I suppose) by the conflict with Great Britain and the temporary suspension of the occupation of the Mississippi Valley. At all events the rise of the West and its alliance with the South assured the domination of the agricultural interest for thirty years, during which this combination elected every President except two (accidental military heroes), and ultimately shelved the industrial program—bank, tariff, debt, internal improvements, and distribution of the public lands—a program which Polk described as designed "to transfer money from the pockets of the people to the favored classes."

Yet in the end the industrial interest proved too strong for the landed interest. The Civil War was the turning-point from the agricultural era to the industrial era—an incident in an "irrepressible conflict" indeed, an irrepressible conflict not between slavery and freedom, or between States' rights and nationalism, but between land and capital. "The supreme outcome of the civil strife was the destruction of the planting aristocracy which, with the aid of Northern farmers and mechanics, had practically ruled the United States for a generation. A corollary to that result was the undisputed triumph of a new combination of power—Northern capitalists and free farmers, who emerged from the conflict richer and more numerous than ever." From the Civil War the story is therefore chiefly of the unabashed capitalistic exploitation of the incomparable resources of the country, and of the equally unabashed exploitation of political power through the Grand Old Party which had "saved the Union." Chastened but hardly checked by the Bryans and the muckrakers, the Roosevelts and the Wilsons, the irresistible force of a capitalistic and mechanical civilization carried us, and still carries us, on to a new "manifest destiny." Already we are the Romans of the modern world, sitting at the gate of customs taking toll for our loaned billions, sending our proconsuls and knights of finance into the provinces of the East, collecting the manuscripts and the paintings, gathering the spoils and the talent, the admiration and the envy, perchance the hatred, too, of the more sophisticated and fragile peoples whom we supplant in the seats of power. And through it all the ship of state, impelled onward by these deep economic currents which no captain of politics or of industry can either foresee or control, still carries at its masthead the emblazoned insignia of "American Ideals"—Liberty, Equality, Humanity.

Such is the main thesis. Not that the authors are wholly concerned with the sweep of economic forces. Far from it. Manners and customs, the intellectual activities, art, science, music, and education—all these are noted with fulness and penetration. Particularly admirable are the four chapters which deal with the "cultural" aspects of American civilization in successive periods—Provincial America; Democracy, Romantic and Realistic; The Gilded Age; The Machine Age. In these chapters you will find a little of everything which the "newer historian" clamors for—not a "synthesis of society" exactly, but something more than a hodge-podge, an entertaining and intelligible account in fact. Inevitably, in this book which is so free from bunk, in which nothing is too great or too little to be noted (from Immanuel Kant to Will Rogers, from Jacobinism to jazz), it is often difficult to recognize the ancient lady Clio, famous for her spotless flowing robes. She is off stage so much of the time! Her hair is bobbed, and you can see her bare knees if you care to look, for she rolls 'em too, and will in any company as like as not be seen tapping a cigarette or fumbling for a lip-stick. It's all right with me. What the lady loses in dignity she gains in appeal—sex maybe.

A review of a history book should properly end with a list of "errors noted." Well, here goes! It is not correct to imply that the initial suggestion for the first Continental Congress came from Massachusetts and Sam Adams. And the Dred Scott Decision—if I only knew enough law I could tell you how and why the authors have missed the real significance of the Dred Scott Decision. They must have missed it. At least I hope they have. American history would lose most of its mystery and half of its charm if any one should be so indiscreet as to discover the truth about the Dred Scott Decision. It's one of the things that aren't done.

CARL BECKER

Fresh Air in American Letters

Main Currents in American Thought. By Vernon Louis Parrington. Harcourt, Brace and Company. Two volumes, $4 each.

A FEW years ago Mr. Roscoe Pound yanked Miss Absolute Justice down from her cold marble throne in the frosty realm of abstract right, gave her a new name, Sociological Jurisprudence, handed her an apron, and put her to work in a mundane place where she could learn about lives of men and women, loving and hating, acquiring and spending, hoping and fearing. As a result, Mr. Pound gave a great impetus to a revolution in legal instruction, in speculation about rights, and in the practices of courts. Moreover, he helped to explode innumerable naive prejudices, masquerading as "immutable moral principles," and to introduce the idea of human justice into the tribunals for the disposal of cases, all to the glory of God and the improvement of social relations. Now it appears that Mr. Parrington is about to start an upheaval in American literary criticism. He has yanked Miss Beautiful Letters out of the sphere of the higher verbal hokum and fairly set her in the way that leads to contact with pulsating reality—that source and inspiration of all magnificent literature. No doubt, the magpies, busy with the accidence of Horace, the classical allusions of Thoreau, and the use of the adverb by Emerson, will make a big outcry, but plain citizens who believe that the American eagle could soar with unblinking eyes against the full-orbed noonday sun if he had half a chance will clap their hands with joy and make the hills ring with gladness.

To descend to particulars, Mr. Parrington has written two volumes, one of 400 and the other of 500 pages, on the development of American opinion. The first volume, "The Colonial Mind," covers the period from 1620 to 1800, and the second, "The Romantic Revolution in America," brings the story down to the eve of the Civil War. The grand plan is divided into six Books: Liberalism and Puritanism (the war of the theologians in New England), the Colonial Mind (the development of the American pattern and its ideological contrasts with the metropolitan defense mechanisms), Liberalism and the Constitution (the clash of agrarianism and capitalism, through the formation of the Constitution to the triumph of Jeffersonian democracy), the Mind of the South (physiocratic agrarianism, plantation psychology, and frontier equalitarianism), the Mind of the Middle East (the conflict of Whiggery and Jacksonian level-

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ism), and the Mind of New England (old federalism and reforming militancy).

In method of treatment Mr. Parrington has followed a systematic scheme. He prefaces each Book with a general survey of the cultural scene—its economic substance, its class arrangements, its changing forces, and its verbal modes. In this sweeping sketch-work our author shows that he had labored long with a scholar's zeal, possesses a keen eye for the realities of social situations, and commands a rare capacity for bold outlining. For example, on the first page of his opening Book he introduces his readers to "the two chief classes of New England: the yeomanry, a body of democratic freeholders who constituted the rank and file of the people, and the gentry, a group of capable merchants who dominated the commonwealth from the early days to the rise of industrialism." Then he goes on to explain that "it was the interweaving of the aims and purposes of these acquisitive yeomen and gentry—harmonious for the most part on the surface, yet driving in different directions—with the ideal of a theocracy and the inhibitions of Puritan dogma, that constitutes the pattern of life to be dealt with here." In this down-to-bedrock fashion, Mr. Parrington gives the reader an understanding of the social organism of each scene and period—the organism mirrored in culture and opinion. These provocative introductions are alone worth the price of admission.

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Like all pioneer undertakings, Mr. Parrington's volumes are open to criticism from many angles. In anticipation he himself suggests that some of his shortcomings are due to the lack of preliminary studies and satisfactory biographies. Most family gardeners who prepare memoirs of departed great leave their readers to infer that their heroes had no economic affiliations and, for the benefit of easily frightened persons, usually exclude disturbing opinions expressed in private letters—opinions that are often more eloquent than whole reams of pleasantries deemed worthy of preservation. In other words, for practical purposes our biographies are generally worthless to anyone who wants to find out how and why things happened.

To the present reviewer Mr. Parrington's chief sin of omission is his neglect of natural science and its influence on theology, politics, and letters. Surely, Silliman's pamphlet on the effect of the new geology upon Miltonic cosmogony, published in the romantic age of Emerson, deserves as much space as the lucubrations of Cotton Mather. A stickler for niceties might well protest against Mr. Parrington's refusal to give John Woolman, America's first humanistic philosopher, a prominent niche in the pantheon of thinkers. But all such suggestions do not detract from the high merits of the work before us. Our author has traced American political, economic, and social development in bold strokes and has sought to relate letters and opinion to the forces "anterior to literary schools and movements," revealing the substance from which literary culture springs. In carrying out his project he has written a truly significant book; according to signs on every hand, a work that promises to be epoch-making, sending exhilarating gusts through the deadly miasma of academic criticism. These volumes are additional proof that America is coming of age, entering into a period of concentration, fulfilling Walter Pater's law of unification preparatory to fundamental thinking, that condition prerequisite to cultural flowering in independence.

CHARLES A. BEARD

Marco the Westerner

Marco Millions. By Eugene O'Neill. Boni and Liveright. $2.50.

IN this, the latest of O'Neill's plays to be made public and the first of his long pieces to appear in print before being performed on the stage, the author turns an ironic eye upon the character of Marco Polo and sees in him not the glorious adventurer of tradition but an early example of that characteristic Occidental extraversion which reaches its ultimate development in the apotheosis of the commercial spirit. Junior member of the firm of Polo, Brothers and Son, Marco makes his way to the court of the great Khan, and there, under the amused eye of the philosophic emperor, undertakes with complacent good humor to confer upon the latter's subjects the benefits of civilization. He invents for them a debased paper currency; he appears in court in the full regalia of the Cock of Paradise, supreme ruler of a fraternal order called Mystic Knights of Confucius which he has founded; and finally, as a parting gift, he explains to them how they may use their gunpowder—hitherto frivolously wasted in fireworks—for the more serious purpose blowing one another up in the interest of lasting peace. Innocent of reflection, impervious to irony, he moves through life with the terrible directness of a shrewd child, and he makes it simple by leaving out whatever is really important. "On the last Day one of your seed will interrupt Gabriel to sell him another trumpet," says the Pope in dismissing him for his journey, and that remark is significant of something more important than Marco's naive avarice; for it implies as well that he is equally incapable of perceiving either comedy or tragedy.

Obviously, the play has its touches of burlesque, and O'Neill has successfully employed the dangerous device involved in using certain deliberate anachronisms to point his satire; but burlesque is not the method of the piece, for in it even satire first melts into fancy and then rises to tragedy. Against the calm, schooled, and resolute indifference of the Eastern philosopher O'Neill sets not only the crass insensibility of the Venetian but a passionate and exalted romanticism, embodied in the daughter of the Khan, as well. Stricken with love for Marco, she can hope neither for any response from his prosaic soul nor for any real comfort in the tolerant but disillusioned wisdom of her own people, and in the end each of the three chief characters must meet the fate reserved for his particular nature, the Princess dying for love, the Khan struggling to accept the wisdom of his philosophers, and Marco returning triumphant to Venice in an appropriate and sublime incomprehension of his failure even to know what the others were about.

Beauty with a capital "B" has generally proved the Nemesis of those contemporary writers who have directly pursued it, and in the past O'Neill has not escaped the common fate. Condemned like the rest to know the thing chiefly by its absence, to deal in passion and in protests whose vehemence revealed the depths of his unsatisfied desires, his solitary previous effort to realize beauty in beauty's own terms resulted in "The Fountain"; and "The Fountain" was a curiously impotent effort—one which revealed that O'Neill, however much he might surpass his fellows in other respects, was nevertheless, like them, unable to do more than reduce the idea of beauty to the shadow of a sentiment. Nor would anyone who had followed the chronology of his recent plays have predicted any development in that direction, for "Desire Under the Elms" was as agonized as anything

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he had written and "The Great God Brown" most coherent where it was most exclusively concerned with vehement protest. But "Marco Millions" portrays with an equally assured power the two faces of its subject, realizing the spiritual depth of its idealized Orientals no less fully than it does the shallow, bumptious complacency of Marco. Here to be sure is only tragedy for the romantic desires of the heroine and a wisdom which is rooted in despair, but withal an acquiescence which can be exalted because it is complete. In none other of O'Neill's plays is there so near an approach to peace.

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

Drama

What's Hecuba to Him?

TO whosoever finds himself strangely moved by some tale remote in time and remote in theme from anything which concerns his life or his experience, Hamlet's famous question will recur; and so it must have recurred to many who witnessed either of the benefit performances of Sophocles's "Electra" which Margaret Anglin gave at the Metropolitan Opera House. The "righteous deed of blood" which forms the subject of the play was done, if ever it was done at all, at a time already grown misty when first it was reenacted upon the stage; the tragic fate of Pelops' line is no concern of ours; and we are not even in any position to understand the feelings which made the desire to avenge a father's murder seem a worthy and suitable purpose to which to devote the lifetime of two people. What's Hecuba to us or we to Hecuba? Yet feelings, as Havelock Ellis once remarked, are the solidest facts of all; against all reason we *are* concerned, and Hecuba will get tears denied to those whose fate, it would seem, should touch us nearer.

Even to the Greeks the magic investing the legendary personages of their drama was one which chiefly depended upon what we designate by the technical term "pathos," upon, that is to say, an emotional aura which comes under certain circumstances to invest certain things with an affective power not intrinsic in them. Argolis was nearer to Athens than it is to New York; the story of Electra touched chords in its inhabitants not strung upon our hearts; but even in Athens it was chiefly upon "pathos" that it depended, and for us this pathos alone remains. When a character or a situation has passed through many inferior hands it becomes hackneyed and cheap, but when many noble minds have concerned themselves with it it is not worn but enriched. Like an heirloom it becomes more precious because of those who have possessed it, and something of them adheres to that which they have touched. We weep for Hecuba *because* so many have wept for her before. When we touch her we not merely touch a dim Grecian of some remote and barbarous age but touch also and at the same time all those who have felt for her, and thus we make ourselves part of a great continuous tradition of human sensibility.

As for Miss Anglin's performance, it would be absurd to attribute to it any greatness not strictly intrinsic, for we are concerned with no pathos here. It has dignity and intelligence, and it is moderately free from that tendency toward mere declamation which generally mars any modern effort to achieve the grand style; but it lacks variety of tone and it is more marked by sincerity than by genius. Yet there is probably no other American actress who could do it so well. All Western Europe is poor in native "pathetic" figures—perhaps the fact that it presents the strange anomaly of a continent which can have no heroes at once national and religious, because its religious legends are all concerned with an alien people, has something to do with this lack—and the general European poverty is merely more acute in America. To think of the figures of our past is not merely to realize how little time there has been to enrich them but to realize also that our feelings are not the same toward them as were those of our grandfathers. A body of art, theatrical or otherwise, which has nowhere represented in it the beauty of pathos is one which is singularly incomplete, and not only America but Europe as well must go back to Greece before it can find any body of legendary material which has been common property long enough to have become in the completest sense pathetic.

The exigencies of the critic's profession here require a sufficiently abrupt transition from "Electra" to "The Circus Princess" (Winter Garden) and "A Night in Spain" (Forty-fourth Street Theater), the former being an elaborate operetta and the latter an elaborate revue. Both are unusually good specimens of their kind, and though it is conventional to regard the musical comedy as less vulgar than the more completely miscellaneous revue I confess my own preference for the latter. "A Night in Spain" has a chorus of dancers who perform with a beautiful if mechanical exactitude, and it has, among a great wealth of other performers, the amiable Phil Baker and a new Spanish dancer of great virtuosity called Helba Huara.

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

Moving Pictures

Realism au Naturel

IT is well to be reminded that there are places on this planet where man is still a plaything of nature and his life a never-ending struggle against her blind forces. Such a place is the far-away and inaccessible Siamese jungle which Messrs. Cooper and Schoedsack exhibit in their interesting film called "Chang." There danger lurks behind every bush. Man's life and labor are continuously exposed to the attacks of giant snakes, bears, leopards, tigers, and wild elephants. The last are the most to be feared, and one of the most effective scenes in "Chang" is that showing a herd of elephants literally razing to the ground—like so many card boxes—a whole native village. Here then is human life which ever and again caps a redoubtable effort with the bitterness of defeat. No better material could be desired for a drama. And yet "Chang" is not drama—not even melodrama, which it is said to be in the official program.

In saying this I do not want to detract from the credit which is due the authors of the film for the infinite pains and exceptional risks they took in securing their material. As films go today, theirs is an achievement. But the claim put forward on their behalf is hardly justified. It is just as a dramatic narrative that "Chang" fails. We are shown a native couple engaged in the daily pursuits of primitive farming. We see their peaceful life occasionally disturbed by encounters with leopards and tigers—encounters in which man proves always victorious. Then comes their greatest calamity, the destruction of their home by an enraged mother-elephant; and a similar fate befalls a neighboring village. Miraculously, no man is killed; the villagers organize a pursuit of the elephants; they succeed in driving practically the whole herd into a trap—and thus our pioneer couple is seen again building a new homestead with a tamed elephant for their obedient servant. The story, even as it stands, should have provided sufficient opportunities for drama against the background of a relentless and awe-inspiring jungle. But in "Chang" the jungle is shown not so much in the pictures as in the subtitles (preposterously inept to boot), and man's struggle for existence is hardly ever conveyed—much less made to appear as a heroic fight against an implacable foe.

The authors are not entirely to blame for this. The natives photographed were not actors, nor could they be expected to sacrifice their lives for the sake of a certain effect. Again, the conditions under which the picture was made were not of a kind that would enable a director to build his effects according to plan. But all this only goes to show that mere realism is not enough. A film, to be truly dramatic, must organize its material as a dynamic sequence in which all scenes are emotionally related to one another. There is no such unity in "Chang."

ALEXANDER BAKSHY

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" " " 16—PYGMALION
" " " 23—THE SECOND MAN

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" " " 23—THE SILVER CORD

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International Relations Section

The Fascist Labor Charter

THE Fascist Charter of Labor, made public at the recent celebration of Rome's 2,681st birthday, was printed in the *Lavoro d' Italia* (Rome) for April 23. The text follows.

The Corporative State and Its Organization

1. The Italian nation is an organism having aims, life, and modes of action superior to those of the separate individuals or groups which compose it. It is a moral, political, and economic unity, integrated in the Fascist state.

2. Labor in all its intellectual, technical, and manual forms is a social duty. As such, it is protected by the state.

The sphere of production is considered as a unit from the national standpoint; its aims are united and are based on the well-being of the producers and the development of the power of the nation.

3. Professional or syndical organization is permitted. But only the syndicate which is legally recognized and placed under the control of the state is entitled legally to represent the group of employers or workers for which it is formed, to protect its interests before the state or other professional associations, to draw up collective labor contracts which are obligatory for all those belonging in that group, to collect dues, or to exercise any authority over its members in matters of public interest.

4. In the collective labor contract lies the concrete expression of solidarity between the various factors of production through the conciliation of the opposing interests of employers and employees and their subordination to the superior interests of production.

5. The Labor Court is the organ through which the state intervenes to regulate labor controversies, whether they hinge on the observance of contracts and other existing agreements or on the formulation of new labor conditions.

6. Legally recognized professional associations insure judicial equality between employers and workers, uphold the discipline of production and labor, and promote the perfecting of this discipline.

Corporations constitute the unified organization of the forces of production, and represent interests as a whole. In view of this integral representation, inasmuch as in the interests of production are national interests, corporations are recognized by law as state organs.

7. The corporative state considers private initiative in the field of production the most efficient and most useful instrument of the interests of the nation.

Private organization of production being a function of national interest, the organizer of the business is responsible to the state for the method of production. Through the collaboration of productive forces comes a reciprocity of rights and duties. The worker who lends his services, whether technical, clerical, or manual, is an active collaborator in the economic undertaking, the direction of which falls on the employer who is responsible for it.

8. Professional associations of employers are obliged to promote in every way the increase and perfecting of products and the reduction of costs. The representatives of those who practice a free profession or an art and the associations of those in public service concur in the protection of the interests of art, science, and literature, in the perfecting of production, and in the attainment of the aims of the corporative state.

9. Intervention of the state in production takes place only when private initiative is lacking or insufficient, or when the political interests of the state are involved. This intervention may assume the form of control, or encouragement, or of direct management.

10. In collective labor controversies judicial action cannot be applied if the corporation has not first attempted conciliation.

In individual controversies concerning the interpretation and the application of collective labor contracts, professional associations are empowered to interpose their offices for conciliation.

The Collective Contract and Its Guaranties

Authority in such controversies is vested in the ordinary courts with the addition of justices designated by the professional associations concerned.

11. Professional associations are obliged to regulate through collective contracts the labor relations between the groups of employers and workers which they represent.

The collective labor contract is drawn up between associations of the lower rank under the guidance and control of the central organizations, except for the power of substitution on the part of the association of higher rank, in cases covered by law or statutes.

Each collective labor contract, under penalty of nullification, must contain definite regulations with regard to disciplinary regulations, the apprenticeship period, the amount and payment of wages and salaries, and the length of the working day.

12. The action of the syndicates, the conciliative function of the corporations (associations representing both employers and workers), and the verdict of the labor court guarantee the adjustment of wages to the normal demands of living, to the capacity of production, and to the fitting return of labor.

The determination of wages is not subject to any general rule, but is made subject to the agreement of the parties to collective contracts.

13. The data obtained from the public administration, from the Central Statistical Institute, and from the legally recognized professional associations concerning the conditions of production and labor, the situation of the money market, and the variations in the standard of living of the workers, after being coordinated and properly drawn up by the Minister of Corporations, shall form the basis of judgment in adjusting the interests of the various groups and the various classes among themselves, and their interests in relation to the superior interests of production.

14. When the wage is based on piece work and calculated according to a period of two weeks or more, adequate biweekly or weekly payments must be made.

Night work, except for regular shifts, shall be paid at a higher rate than day work.

When payment is made on a piece-work basis, the scale shall be established in such a way that the diligent worker of normal working capacity shall be permitted to obtain a minimum surplus over the basic amount.

15. The worker is entitled to a weekly rest on Sundays. Collective contracts shall apply this principle, taking into consideration the provisions of existing laws and the technical requirements of the industry, and within the limits of such requirements they shall in addition attempt to provide for the observance of civil and religious holidays. The length of the working day must be scrupulously and strictly adhered to by the worker.

16. After one year of uninterrupted service the worker in an establishment which has been operating continuously is entitled to an annual period of vacation with pay.

17. In establishments which operate continuously the worker is entitled, in case of cessation of labor relations through dismissal, to compensation in proportion to the number of years of service. This compensation is due even in case of the death of the worker.

18. In establishments which operate continuously, the transfer of ownership of a business shall not dissolve the contract, and the employees connected with it conserve their rights

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in dealing with the new owners. Also, the illness of the worker, if it does not exceed a fixed period, shall not dissolve the labor contract. A call to arms or to service in the Fascist militia is not cause for dismissal.

19. Infractions of discipline and acts which disturb the normal procedure of business, if committed by the workers, are punished, according to the seriousness of the offense, with fine, with suspension, and, in serious cases, with immediate dismissal without compensation.

Cases in which the employer can impose a fine or suspension or immediate dismissal without compensation shall be specified.

20. A new worker is subject to a period of apprenticeship, during which there exists a reciprocal right to dissolve the contract with no other formality than remuneration for the time during which the work was effectively performed.

21. The collective labor contract extends its privileges and its discipline also to resident workers. Special regulations shall be drawn up by the state to insure the policing and hygiene of resident work.

22. The state ascertains and controls the phenomenon of employment and unemployment of workers, which is a general index of conditions of production and labor.

Employment Offices

23. The employment office is under the joint control of the corporations. The employers are obliged to employ the workers registered in these offices, and have freedom of choice within the limits of those registered on the lists, preference being given to members of the party and the Fascist unions in the order of their enrolment.

24. Professional associations of workers must exercise a selective action among the workers, with a view to increasing technical capacity and morale.

25. Corporations will insist on the enforcement, by the various members of the allied associations, of the laws dealing with the prevention of accidents and the policing of labor.

Insurance, Aid, Education, and Instruction

26. Insurance is an important example of the principle of collaboration. The employer and employees must share it proportionately. The state, through the corporations and professional associations, shall attempt to coordinate and unify, as far as possible, the system and the institutions of insurance.

27. The Fascist state proposes:

(a) Perfecting of accident insurance;

(b) Improvement and extension of maternity insurance;

(c) Insurance against professional diseases and tuberculosis as a step toward general insurance against all illness;

(d) Perfecting of insurance against involuntary unemployment;

(e) Adoption of special forms of endowment insurance for young workers.

28. The workers' associations are responsible for the protection of their representatives in the administration and judicial activities connected with accident and social insurance.

Collective labor contracts shall provide, wherever technically possible, for the establishment of mutual funds for sickness, to be contributed by employers and employees, and to be administrated by both, under the supervision of the corporations.

29. Aid to its own group, whether members or not, is a right and a duty of professional associations. These associations must exercise such functions directly through their own channels, nor can they delegate them to other associations or institutions except for purposes of a general nature, beyond the interests of each group of producers.

30. Education and instruction, especially professional instruction, of their group, whether members or not, is one of the principal duties of professional associations. They must supplement the activities of the national administration by means of night schools and other educational opportunities.

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Contributors to This Issue

THOMAS F. MILLARD, who was until recently Chinese correspondent for the New York *Times* and who has lived in China for twenty years, is writing several articles on the Chinese situation for *The Nation*.

BENJAMIN STOLBERG is one of the keenest students of the American labor movement.

H. C. JAQUITH is the director of the Greek Area of the Near East Relief.

J. A. HOBSON is an English economist and contributing editor of *The Nation*.

HAL SAUNDERS WHITE is an instructor of English in New York University.

CARL BECKER is professor of history in Cornell University and author of numerous works in American history.

CHARLES A. BEARD is the author of important volumes on the economic background of American history.

ALEXANDER BAKSHY is an English critic now in New York.

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